1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

135 river, near the Taskyum bridge,* and on the left branch of the Shigar river, in Balti.

135 316 173 *Gold* is found by washing the sands of the Indus and of the Shayok river; but the washings are entirely carried on by Mussulmans from Balti, as the Buddhists of Ladák have long been prohibited from the search. The prohibition is said to have originated in the fears of the Gyalpo lest the people should neglect their fields in the tempting pursuit of gold. The crowds that have flocked to the recent "diggings" in California and Australia have fully justified the fears of the Gyalpo. [776] [784] Gold is also found in Chang-thang, but its collection is prevented by a superstitious belief that the lumps of native gold "belong to the genii of the spot, who would severely punish the human appropriation of their treasures."† The sands of the Indus have long been celebrated for the production of gold. Pliny‡ says, "*Fertilissimi sunt auri Dardæ;*" and this is the case even at the present day; for the sands of the Indus, in the Dardu country, are said to be more prolific than those of any other part of the river. [136] But the gold of the Indus was known at a still earlier date; for Megasthenes relates that the Indian ants dug gold out of the earth, not for the sake of metal, but in making burrows for themselves.§ These Indian ants are no doubt the

* Travels, II. p. 392, and map. † Moorcroft, I. p. 314.

‡ Lib. VI. c. 19. The conclusion of the passage is curious and suggestive, *Setæ vero argenti*, that is, "the country of the Dardæ produced most gold, but that of the *Setæ* the most silver." As we know that silver is not found in India, the *Setæ* can be no other than the *Seths*, or "bankers," in whose hands the wealth of India has been for ages. It seems probable that many of the Indian nations, enumerated by ancient authors, may have been only different trades and professions.

§ Arrian, Indica, XV.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

177 779 village *Thakurs* and *Debis* to be only so many different forms of Mahadeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the Lamas have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, ● 776 though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods, and the dales. Some of these divinities are the following:—

1. *Rihi-Lhá* ... ... Mountain Gods, or Oreades.
2. Chhuhi-Lhá ... ... River Gods, or Naiades.
3. Shinggi-Lhá ... ... Tree Gods, or Dryades.
4. Zhi-Lhá* ... ... Family Gods, or Lares.
5. Zhing-Lhá ... ... Field Gods, or Leimoniades.
6. Khyim-Lhá ... ... House Gods, or Penates.

177 779 In after-times the mystical system of the Tantrists was engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepál and Tibet; and the pictures of the prevailing red and yellow sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying *Targchuk* (Iswara), and of his blood-drinking spouse *Chong-Summa* (the three-eyed goddess *Trilochana*). These doctrines were named *Nang-pa*, the esoteric or orthodox, in contradistinction to the Phyipa, exoteric or heterodox. With them, I believe, originated the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyani Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female symbol, plays a prominent part.

* *gZhis-Lhá*. *Lha* is the generic name of God; hence, Buddha is called *Lha-yi-Lhá*, the "God of Gods." The similarity of this name to the Roman *Lar*, and to the old Arabic *Ilah*, God, is very striking. I may notice here, that the usual translation of the Musalmán Kalimeh, لا إله إلا الله *La Ilah ila Allah*, "there is no God but God," is a manifest error. The true translation is, "there is no God but *Allah*."

adopted child behaves badly, the adoption can be set aside and another child be adopted, unless the child which misbehaved has a child, in which case the young child is retained and the misbehaving parent, or parents, is, or are, turned out of the family. If after having adopted children, a man's wife bears him a child, the adopted son and the real son are considered brothers, the adopted son being considered the elder brother. If the real son objects to this, the family property is equally divided between the adopted and the real son. 597 593 597 428

[4] ALTAR--hláto or láto the round heaps of stones erected on the crest of a pass or the top of a mountain whereon horns are placed and first fruit offerings offered up to the Hla or gods. 778 782

[5] ANGEL-- A Christian Missionary speaks of angels as konjok i phóngia or God's ambassadors. A Tibetan not acquainted with the tenets of the Christian faith would not understand what was meant by the expression. Buddhists believe in gods and goddesses and demons, but they have nothing which corresponds exactly with our idea of "angel." konjok is the great ideal divine principle having neither form or feature. The good spirits or angels or minor deities are called Hla (male), and Hlámo (fem.)--but see under heading "Spirit." 776● 779

[6] APRICOT-- chooli (fresh); pháting (the dried apricots which come from Baltistan and are far superior to the Kabul dried apricots known in India as khoománi). The best apricots come from Shigar just below Skardu. Large quantities of dried apricots are exported from Baltistan to Ladák, Chángtháng and Lhássa. Ladák is too cold for apricot trees to fruit well, but there are a few good trees in Nubra and at Saspul. Apricots are not dried in Ladák. The common small apricots of Ladák have frequently a bitter taste, but the poor people value them, as an oil is extracted from the kernels, which serves either as an oil for burning, or for cooking purposes. The cost of apricot oil is almost as much as that of kerosine oil. It is called "riseegoo i marnak." 245 439 251 372 245

[26]COWDUNG--lcha. It is usually collected and dried, and then used as fuel when it is called "lchey sokskir". 237 372

CUP--korey. Every Ladáki has his own cup or "korey." It is made of wood [27] and shaped like a large flat salt cellar. It is always carried about on the person. Ladákis do not approve of drinking out of the cup of any one not a relative of their own. 415 609

DAGGER--peechak ordinary, dorjèy phurba the magic dagger, used by Lamas in their rites. 778 782 411

DANCE--rtseys. The Ladákis have many kinds of dances, but to the European, they all appear very much alike; they are as uninteresting as the nautches of India. All Ladákis, except the ex-raja, join in dances, which are usually the occasion of much merriment and drinking of chhang.[1] The sword and dagger dances are those best worth seeing. 535 517

DANCER--trakSHózma or takSHózma, a professional female dancer. The professional dancers of Ladák are of a very superior caste, to the dancing women of India. In Ladák no shame attaches to the profession of a dancer. Zámindárs and well-to-do people have their daughters taught to dance in their childhood. The takSHózma usually belongs to the "hmang riks" caste; she may occasionally belong to the "tólbey riks," but not to the 3 lowest sub-divisions of that caste. The male professional dancers are called ngiópa or ngiáópa. An amateur dancer is called rtseykhan. 535 463 565 [564]

[29]

DEMON--rdud or hlandey or hlandrey. According to Jäschke rdud is the personified Evil Principle, the adversary of Buddha and the tempter of mankind, but unlike Satan of the Bible, not a fallen angel, and unlike Ahriman of the Persians, not an antagonist of Buddha, of equal power and influence. The rdud is merely an evil genius of the highest rank, by whose defeat Buddha will in the end be more glorified. The rdud is also identified with the God of love. In later times he has been split into four, and subsequently into numerous devils and she devils (rdudmo), hlandey or hlandrey signifies imp, demon or evil spirit, but see "Devil." 779 776

1 [i.e. barley beer -- Analyst]

[30]

779 DEVIL--rdud or rdut the evil principle, hlandey or hlandrey demon or imp, drey an evil spirit, dreypho male evil spirit dreymo female evil spirit, rdud i hugus the abode of a devil, ghegs and hnot chet evil spirits tsan a class of evil spirits--a tsan is supposed to live in the nullah behind the Másho village.

428 [32]DISINHERIT TO--Ladákis can not disinherit their eldest son, However bad he may be, he must inherit the whole of his parents' property.
thopthang kok ches is to deprive a person of his inheritance.

586 DIVORCE TO--There are two kinds of divorce in Ladak, also a kind of separation by mutual consent, which amounts to a divorce, inasmuch as the parties concerned may re-marry.

586 595 768 When the eldest brother of a Buddhist family dies, his wife is at liberty to divorce herself from his dead body, by tying one end of a thread round the dead man's finger, and the other end round her own finger, and then breaking the thread. This ceremony is known as "skatpa chát ches." By divorcing herself from her dead husband, she frees herself of the younger brothers of her late husband. Under Ladák law, the eldest brother marries a woman, and the younger brothers share the wife. If a woman has living children she never divorces herself from her dead husband, for her eldest son, [478] or if she has no son her eldest daughter [33] inherits the family property and the dead man's brothers remain in a subordinate position in the house. If she has no children, she often looks out for a more comfortable home.

The brothers of the dead man have no voice in the matter of this kind of divorce.

[587] If the woman divorces herself, then the eldest surviving brother is at liberty to marry a wife of his own selection, but he must share her with his younger brothers.

586 779 If a Buddhist couple can't agree, they refer their case to an arbitrator or "GHatpo, "who, if he thinks matters can not be amicably arranged, decides that they must "break the stick, " and thereby divorce each other. This ceremony is called "SHing chak ches" each party retains his or her own property. No stigma attaches to either party provided "incompatibility of temper" is the cause of divorce. If there are any small children, under 7 or 8 years, they remain with the mother till they are 7 or 8 years old, and

586 428

GAUDY--tshos lakmo bright coloured. Ladákis approve highly of bright colours therefore our "gaudy" corresponds with their "bright". 100

[52]

GIPSY— khamba or khampa. No gipsies are found among Ladákis, who are a very well-to-do people. Wandering beggars come from the Lhása Province of "Kham," hence possibly the word "khamba." 735 568

[53]GOD--konjok is the general term, but it is hard to say what the Ladákis understand the word to mean, for according to European ideas they have no God. They have a kind of Trinity which they call the "Konjoksum" or "Konjok sumbo." It is made up as follows:--(1) sangiás (sangeys) konjok, i.e., Buddha the emblem of intelligence, and the head of the Buddhist faith and priesthood (2) chhos konjok, i.e., the religion deity; (3) gendun konjok, i.e., the priestly deity. From this it seems that the Ladákis have no God, and that they worship a Trinity representing--(1) Buddha; (2) priests of the religion of Buddha. Ordinary Ladákis have no idea of anything before and apart from Buddha, and they never trouble their heads about the Laws of Nature, and the Causer of Causes. They think that the world goes on in a never ending round of "kalpas" or periods, each of which has its own Buddha, and each of which is terminated by the destruction of the world by fire, as a punishment for the sins of mankind. After that, a fresh "kalpas" commences, and so on. 779 776 822

They cannot give any information as to their belief regarding the length of a "kalpas;" but they say that long long ago the age of man extended up to 800 years, that since then his life time has gradually been shortened, till now, his age rarely extends beyond 80 years, that the present is the last of the life shortening "kalpas," and that after the end of this "kalpas," man's life time will gradually be lengthened to its former limits.

In addition to the "konjoksum," the Ladákis have endless minor deities;"Hla" or more correctly "Lha" is the general term for a fairy, spirit, or deity; rgiachhen is Indra; tshángspa is Brahma; khiápjook is Vishuoo; wángchhook is Iswara; and dodhla is Cupid, in the evil sense of the God of lust. 776 779

Other minor gods are sa i hla the earth god, ree i hla the mountain

776 god, and so on with the Gods of water (chhoo), wood (SHing),
779 fields (zhing), store houses (páng), wealth (nor), etc. Beys hla is the God watching over one when travelling in foreign parts, khar i hla is the patron god of a castle or palace, and zhis hla and khim hla and hláloo are the Ladáki household gods.

GODDESS--hlámo. There are very few goddesses, the chief are "yum" the mother of all Buddhas, and dorjey phakmo.

293 GOGGLES--migSHel any kind of glass spectacles, migra a kind of eye-preserver, made by Ladákis out of horse hair, twisted into a kind of fine net work and shaped like goggles.

291 [54]GOWN--The ordinary dress of a Ladák woman consists of a patoo gown called "mo-GHos," in which the skirt and body are in one piece. A girdle or "skieyraks" is worn round the waist. On fair days and other great occasions they wear a petticoat, a skirt striped with red, green and yellow. These are called [439] "stakta" and cost about 20 rupees each, as they come from Lhása. A cheaper kind of holiday skirt called "thigma" is made of pattoo with flowers stamped in colours upon it.

343 GRANARY--giábang large, pánga a store room for grain, such as every cultivator keeps in his house.

764 GRAVE--romkhang Buddhist funeral pyre, kabar Muhammadan grave. The Christian burial ground at Leh is called "rom khang" but a grave (without a monument) is called thurthrot and "pangso" is the earth mound over a grave. Khakchan or nantan, important. Also tsher-rdong chhak ches, to look grave.

231 GREYHOUND--lingskhee. The word means "sporting dog," but it is applied more particularly to greyhounds, these [55] being the only kind of sporting dog known to Ladákis.

243 GRIM--nas or ngomdok, beardless barley or "grim". This is the
262 grain most in demand in Ladák. From it is made "satoo," which forms the food of the people, and "chhang," which is the national drink. It ripens at greater altitudes than other grains, (i.e., close up to 15,000 feet above the sea), it ripens more quickly, and it requires less manure.

•776 The former word means haunted by an unembodied spirit, the latter means haunted by the spirit of a living person.

291 HEAD DRESS--kasába the red turban worn by ArGHon women, gen-
301 erally adorned with a turquoise-studded silver or gold ornament, called "joogin" fastened above the centre of the forehead. dáón the white sheet worn over the kasába, covering the whole of it, except a band across the forehead, and coming down behind as far as the waist. peyrak the broad stiff leather, turquoise studded head-dress worn, always by Buddhist women of Ladák, and oc-
[554] casionally by ArGHon women. The size of the peyrak depends upon the wealth of the owner--a good one is perhaps 10 inches wide at the top and 3 feet long, and worth Rs. 300. The ordinary peyrak is perhaps 4 inches wide and 24 inches long, and worth about 50 rupees. When a woman is young she invests her worldly wealth in turquoises, which she fastens on to her peyrak. Later on, when her eldest daughter marries, most of these tur-
[583] quoises are given to her as a dowry. The turquoises used for this
439] purpose come from China. They are large flattish stones of a greenish colour and [59] full of flaws. Even a good one is worth only about 50 rupees.

284 In former days the Buddhists had a prejudice against the kasába and
291 dáón, and they would not allow any woman wearing this head-dress, to come upon their fields, the prejudice has now almost entirely died out.

798 HEATHEN--The Ladákis have no such word, they would speak of a person as belonging to a certain religion. If they wished to say he was an atheist, they could apply to him the word "armen-dirmen".

779 HEAVEN--namkha the region or space above us--the sky--where the
772 birds are flying and the saints are soaring, where it lightens and thunders, etc.--the ether--as the fifth element (vide Jaschke's Dict. p. 303) zhingkham or thóris or ótsál the everlasting abode of the spirits of the pious or of those who have atoned for their sins by remaining in hell for a certain time. The Buddhist heaven is not like the Christian heaven--indeed it is hard to say what it is supposed to be like, for it must be remembered that for a Buddhist to speak of "going to heaven" is equivalent to his speaking of "attaining nirvána" (which see). Tibetans of the

tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal). 000

[115]PAGAN--The Ladákis have no such a word in their vocabulary. Buddhists are called "Nángpa" or "insiders", while those of other religions are called Hindoos, or, as the case may be, Mahomedans are called "Pheepa" or "outsiders", and atheists are called "Armendirnen". 798

[116]PARENT--ába (eldest father); ágoo (other fathers); ámá (mother). 601

[117]PATRON--giápsten (friend); eedam or yeedam (patron saint or tutelar divinity)--nearly every Ladáki has a "yeedam" of his or her own selection. 776 572

[118]PAWN-BROKER--bundak or norrdak (money-lender); tshongpa (merchant). The money-lenders and merchants are the pawn-brokers of Ladák. 426 443

PELISSE--hlóGHor or hióGHor. Ladáki ladies, when in full dress, nearly always wear a pelisse or cloak of scarlet and green cloth, lined with white lambskin. A rich person ornaments the cloak with heavy silver ornaments at throat, neck, and shoulders. Hlokpa is the goatskin cloak worn by the labouring classes, both men and women, to protect the back. But see "Cloak." 291 565 301

[119]PERAMBULATE TO--skora skor ches. The Ladakis, in so far as they are addicted to religious observances, which is not a great deal, attach considerable importance to circum-ambulation, combined with prostrations, as a means of obtaining a forgiveness of their sins. 788

PERQUISITE--thoptáng signifies legal perquisite, such as the grain given by [120] villagers at harvest time to the village blacksmiths or other village servants. The respectful word is "chhak rsten" or "zhoo rsten" signifying "offering" or "petition present"; phaksup signifies an "illegal perquisite," i.e., bribe. 675 195 662

[120]
PETTICOAT--SHamthap, the red petticoat worn by Lámas of both 792 291

red and yellow sects. The women of Ladák do not wear petticoats. Their dress consists of patoo trousers and a patoo garment in which bodice and skirt or petticoat are joined together. The skirt part of this garment is called "hmadGHak" or hmad-yok", and the bodice part "stotGHak."

PHANTOM--hlandey or hlandrey--the name of a class of spirits, supposed to appear in various forms, and then to suddenly vanish out of sight; zumthhrul or zumthhul or chhumthhrul or chhumthhul, as a mirage; namSHet or namSHes, the ghost of a dead person; SHeelok, one returned from the dead. But see "Resurrection."

PHYLACTERY--srunga or SHunga. The Buddhists of Ladák obtain from their Lámás, extracts, or texts, from their sacred books, printed on paper or longcloth, etc., these they enclose in a silver or copper casket (kabzóma) worn like a locket. The poorest people wrap them up in paper and tie them to a string worn round the neck or waist. [121] The men sometimes fasten them to their caps, and the women to their headdresses (peyrak). A Buddhist never wears a charm on his arm or wrist as a Hindoo or Mahomedan might do.

[121]

PILGRIMAGE--hnasjal or jala. Ladakis go on pilgrimages to Trilóknath, the Manasarwar lake, Jowála Mukhi and other places of Hindoo pilgrimage.

PIPE--kanzak, or respectfully zhalzak, a tobacco pipe with a straight stem, about 10 inches long, and with small round bowl. They are made of brass or iron, and sometimes silver plated. This is the pipe of the traveller and of the villagers. Townspeople use the Indian pipe which they call "cheelam" or "gurguri cheelam." The Baltistán pipe, which is also used by Ladakis, is called "roocho-cheelam," or respectfully "doncheelam" "poori" a pipe for conducting water, etc.; "oldong" the wind-pipe.

[123]POLYANDRY--There is no word for this. Polyandry is almost universal among the Buddhists of Ladak. For further information, see under the heading "Marriage." It is said that polyandry induces leprosy, but in Ladak the disease is unknown, though

213 PRINT TO--par giáp ches. Printing in Ladak is confined entirely to the printing of texts, religious books, etc. The Lámas are the only people who print, and their methods are exceedingly primitive. They have blocks of wood engraved, and with these they print or stamp the texts, etc.

875 768 [129]PURR TO--máney ton ches i.e., to tell beads. Tibetans consider that a cat is a sacred animal, having once slept on the hem of God's garment. They think that when it is purring, it is muttering prayers, hence the expression for to purr.

751 QUARANTINE--GHak ches. In the old days, the Ladák Rajas, whenever they heard that small-pox was prevalent in Kashmir, used to impose a 10-days' quarantine at Khalsi on all arrivals from Kashmir.

●776 177 [130]QUEEN--giámo or giálmo or rgiálmo. The Queen-Empress of India is known to Ladákis as "paldan hlámo" or "goddess Paldan." In pictures, the "Paldan Hlámo" one of the Buddhists' goddesses or fairies, is represented as sitting on horseback, not astride, as after the manner of Ladák ladies, but sideways: hence, as European ladies ride on side saddles, the Queen has been given the name of Paldan Hlámo. It is supposed that the Queen's children used to fly away into space, and converse with the fairies, but that latterly, as they have taken to eating pig's flesh, this power has been taken away from them.

524 QUOIT--lchaks i khorlo (the iron quoit) khábmo (the game). Ladákis have a game like quoits, only they use stones, which have to be thrown into a small hole in the ground.

525 RAFFLE TO--rgiánSHingtáng ches. Each man takes a stick and marks it, the sticks are all put into a bag together and a disinterested person draws out one stick, and the owner of it wins the raffle.

821 753 RAINBOW--záchoothung. The word "za", means 'epilepsy" and "chhoothung" means "water drink." Ladákis look upon the rainbow as the spirit of epilepsy; they say that one end of the rainbow is always in a stream, or other water, and that the phenomenon is caused by the spirit of epilepsy coming down to drink. If the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he or she becomes epilepti

[131]

412 RAKE--kházey (wooden, with teeth); panka (small wooden, and with no teeth).

687 567 476 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár" or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 757 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák.

[150]

774 776 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the alchoholic essence).

787 273

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

534 TRUMPET--turump (military); zangdung (the long copper trumpet, used by Lamas; it is about eight feet long, one man holds the mouth-piece and blows it, while another holds up the other end of the instrument).

429 TRUSTEE--chólma. The old Ladak custom in regard to trusts was that, except in family matters, if a man entrusted his goods to another to keep, that person was answerable for them for only nine years. If the owner failed to demand his property within that period, his claim lapsed. Hence a trustee was called a "chólma lórgioo" or "nine years" trustee."

301 TURQUOISE--hioo (general term); hioothra (the small stones used for rings, etc.); dunhioo (the large stone worn on the front centre of the "peyrak" (see "Head dress"); hioo (the ordinary Stones on the "peyrak"). There are separate names to describe the exact kind of stone, thus the "hioopuk" is the best, it is free from flaws and with very little green in it; the "thrukmar" is the next best, and "thrukkar" is the next [163] best. These three classes comprise all the good stones. In- [439] ferior kinds are known as "pot-hioo" and "rgiáhioo." Turquoises of the last two classes come to Ladák from Lhása or China; they are full of flaws and generally very green. The best turquoises come up from India. Ladákis object to flaws, but they like a little green, as they consider it a sort of guarantee that the turquoise has not been manufactured.

763 ULCER--hngiánbur or shooa (general). Ladákis think that fish living
● 776 in or near a spring are really fairies; they call them "hlángia," or "hloongia" or "tungngia," according to their species. It is supposed that if a person eats, or troubled with these fish, he will be troubled with ulcers, which will not heal till the injured fish recovers its health. Such ulcers are called "hlooskion."

783 UNCTION--thrus táng (or sol) ches. This is the word used to express the Lámáistic ceremony of pouring holy water, from a pungpa," over the head of a person, to cleanse him from his sins. After pouring a little water on the head, the worshipper receives a little water in the palm of his hand; he drinks a little, and then puts the rest of it to his eyes.

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776

'Pyag-rdor (Chag dor),
Sanskrit Vajrapani (the carrier of the thunderbolt)
with dorje in his hair; one of the defenders of
faith, also a rain god

their work inside and near the house. The mother of the owner of the house, the good Tsering Putrid, and the owner's sister, are busily occupied at the stove, which is in the same room, in order to serve the red-cowled men with food and drink. They are continually pouring butter-tea with a ladle from a large copper pot into the little drinking bowls placed on the tables in front of the monks. With that the lamas are eating fried barley flour (tsampa), which they knead themselves with their fingers in the bowls into a dough (kollag) by mixing it with the tea; as well as flat cakes baked without yeast and made with the flour of wheat. Towards evening the lamas receive another plentiful meal with mutton and vegetables. With it they drink barley beer (chang) /13/ which they heartily enjoy, as they do the meat, in spite of the interdict of the monastic rule. In order to expiate the guilt which they incur by eating the meat and with it the shared guilt of killing an animal, they add a special prayer to the customary prayer after dinner. After they have prayed from themselves and all their people in all six levels of existence, that they may never be separated from the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, the Law, and Monkhood), and that they may all some day attain to the dignity of Buddha, they add another request that the sheep that has been killed may be reborn in heaven. In this manner the members of the "sacred community of monks" appease their consciences and do not let any grey hair grow on their cleanly shaved heads over the matter. After all they have not killed any sheep with their own hand, so that the responsibility for killing lies with others.

789 [262] [273] [783]

But what is the purpose of this ceremony which lasts an entire day? In the house of Lobsang Wanggyal there is expected the arrival of an heir to the family in the very near future. It will undoubtedly be a boy. The onpo, the soothsayer and astrologist in neighboring Lamayuru, has definitely assured the happy "expectant father" of this. The onpo, after all, is the one to know. He has read it from the stars and from his complicated tables, and he has calculated it that way, something which only such a clever man as the onpo can do.

[787]

Now the life of the Tibetan is menaced even before his entrance into this world of woe, as it is throughout the entire time of his stay on earth, by thousands upon thousands of evil spirits of the most varied kinds. The first to approach the child which is about to be born, in this its earliest stage of life, and which approach it with treacherous intent, are the 100,000 child demons. These must be exorcised, for from them the developing human being is threatened with the 24

[776]

000 and duties are regulated by strict law and ritual.

692 as if they intend to settle their argument with their wooden shovels, the tools /18/ which they use for irrigation work, and which they have begun to swing in a threatening manner.

Finally the argument is brought before the gopa (village magistrate) to decide. His decision: Lobsang Wanggyal is to make [785] a generous lu-stor (offering) tomorrow morning before sunrise in order to appease the enraged water gods. Besides that he must pay three rupees fine to the "injured parties." This money the gopa divides among the parties concerned, without, at the same time, forgetting himself.

At the Soothsayer's and at the Skushog's

787 In his narrow, dark, smoke-blackened hermitage which hangs suspended like a swallow's nest along the steep cliff to the side of the large Lamayuru Monastery, sits the astrologist and soothsayer (onpo) Dorje Dud-joms (rdo-rje bdud ajoms), which means Thunderbolt Devil-tamer. He crouches there in the somber room immersed in profound reverie. He has just exorcised and invoked the presence of his tutelary demon by means of fasting, immersion in meditation, the mumbling of formulas of exorcism, and of magical gestures. Now [776] he believes he can see the Terrible One bodily before him; the terrible Tamdrin, "him with the horse's neck," whose hideous form with the eight arms and legs, with the three faces flushed with anger and with three eyes each, and with the three horse's heads covered with bushy hair, is represented by the painted scroll picture there on the wall. In the ecstatic condition into which he has been transferred by his practices, he feels that the yoga process is being completed, the mystical union with his tutelary demon who, thereby, has become subservient to him and who must now surrender his magical powers to the devil-tamer. Now the latter takes down a few wonderful old tables from a shelf on the wall and spreads them out on a table in front of which he crouches down. The paper of the tables is dirty from frequent use. On it can be seen the picture of a turtle, on whose flat abdominal armor there are inscribed an astrological calendar with the zodiacal signs for the years of the circle with the twelve-fold division, as well as other animals, monster, and magical signs and numbers. There we notice the eight Sparka signs, each consisting in

787 Tsan demons (4) and the witches of the mountains are enraged. This

[776]

4. The red Tsan (Tibetan btsan) demons' lords ride through the clouds over the mountains as harnessed riders with their wild army like Woden's Wild Chase /I presume "Wodes" to refer to Woden's or Odin's. --translator./. These demons send sickness and death to the people at whom they are angry by shooting arrows at them. In order to keep them away the Tibetan paints his doorposts as well as stone blocks which are placed in front of the house, red; he also fastens slips of paper with exorcising formulas written on them above his house door and from time to time he has the lamas exorcise the dreaded demons by diverse means.

[789]

is going to be something. Alala! Wait, my little boy! I'll write a prescription for you all right."

The devil-tamer takes a long, narrow strip of paper in his hand and, crouching on his mat and holding the paper skillfully between the fingers of his left hand, he writes down what has been confided to him concerning the fate of the little son of Lobsang Wanggyal jointly by the stars, his secret signs and numbers, as well as by his inventive imagination. Lobsang Wanggyal,had been in to see him in the morning and had asked him for a horoscope (5) of his first born.

5. Prognostication of one's fate from the stars and by means of magical secret signs.

On leaving, the anxious father had pressed two rupees (equals 2.70 Reichsmark) into the soothsayers's hand, with the words: "Do a good job." All right, All right, don't worry. I'll take care of it. Tomorrow morning you can come and pick up the horoscope," the onpo had replied and had winked at him in a familiar and sly manner.

And so the devil-tamer writes down the following: "This boy, son of Lobsang Wanggyal, was born in the wood-tiger year (6).

805
177

6. The Tibetans took over from the Chinese the moon year with twelve moon months (of 30 days each) and 360 days. But in order to make this short year always correspond again to the sun year, frequently a day, even an entire extra month, must be inserted. Thus the year that corresponded to 1933,

Battle Against Sinister Powers.

326 On one of the next days the village smith came to the courtyard in order to put the hoes and the plow in order for the cultivation [262] of the fields. At the midday meal he also received his ample share of butter tea and of baba, a thick, boiled flour porridge which is eaten with melted butter. But the smith had to eat apart from the row of [783 inhabitants of the house; for if he had seated himself with them close •776] to the stove in the livingroom-kitchen, the house god (p'a-lha) and the hearth god (t'ab-lha) would have become angered and would have sent disease and misfortune to the inhabitants in their house. While 789 the people were still slurping their butter tea, the young mother entered 326 with little Drogpa Namgyal in her arms. "še-pa, še-pa! Da rgod-cig! Darling, darling! Smile for us!" she was saying to him. Then old Tsering Putrid called out to her daughter-in-law: "Put the child on the lap of the Garra (smith) and let it drink from his kore (drinking bowl); then it will become a real Garprug (smith's son); if then a Tsan or Lu should come, it will notice by the smell that the child has been with the Garra and it will take it for a real child of a smith and keep away from it, because even a demon may not touch a dirty Garra. It will be better to bear a little disgrace than to know it in constant danger of the evil /20/ powers. After all, you never can tell-- --!" The sage advice of the grandma was carried out in spite of all the yelling and kicking of the little one, who did not want to get near the black man with the sooty face on any account. But all felt something like relief when the Garra with a sour-sweet smile took the child for a few moments in his arms and let it sip from his tea. His effort was thereupon rewarded by a few more bowls of the best fat butter tea and a whole pile of flat bread cakes, as well as by a number of small silver coins. For this he also took the insulting aspects of the matter into the bargain.

852 When little Drogpa Namgyal was a year old, a lama related to the family appeared in the house one day, solemnly sat down on the carpet, unwrapped a book from the folds of the cloth of his wide scarf and began to read aloud. While he was reading and consuming, in between, ample amounts of the butter tea that was served him, the mother, with the help and advice of the mother-in-law, energetically rubbed butter on the little round head, which already had quite a dense crop of black hair, till it gleamed like a rind of bacon. Then the mother had to sit down with the little one close to the lama; the

It was extremely 137
seldom that one could fell a tree in this wilderness, which is poor in rain and in trees. Aside from willows, poplars, apricot and nut trees and a few apple and almond trees at the irrigated bottom of the valley, only a number of tamarisks and hawthorn trees grew at the edge of the brook in the side-valley, and up above in far-removed highland valleys grew a few juniper trees (Juniperus excelsa); on the slopes of the mountains and on the plateaus there was neither tree nor shrub to be seen for miles around, only here and there bushes of burtse, a woody, strongly smelling species of erotia, gorse (caragana versicolor), and similar woody shrubs.

Over there, beyond the Indus, stood a group of poplars, it is 776 •
true, in the middle of a steep and barren mountain slope, as well as wild currant bushes and tamarisks at a well. But nobody dared to cut down wood there. There lived a terrible Lu by the side of the well who guarded the water and the bushes. The wife of Konchog Trashi, the old teller of legends and fairytales, had once cut off a few dried [53] branches from the trees and had taken them home /34/. The following year she came down with leprosy, the Lu-disease (klu-nad) as the Tibetan calls it, which the angered nymph had conjured upon her. She died a horrible death. "That's what she gets for her forwardness," the lamas had declared. Drogpa Namgyal was thus also warned very severely both by parents and grandmother never to get wood from there or even as much as to go in the neighborhood of the well; likewise he was not to cut any wood from the large, beautiful juniper trees in the nearby Skyinling valley, for those trees were Lhashing (lha-sin, "gods' trees"), inhabited by mountain gods, whom it would be dangerous to provoke since it might cost the offender his life.

It was a laborious task to extract with the small pointed hoe 482
the burtse shrubs with their woody root stem and then to tie them together with the strong string made of goat or yak hair into a proper carrying burden. In this way the boy learned early to carry a considerable load on his back and to bring it into the valley along the narrow, poor mountain pathways. Sometimes, when it was necessary to collect a larger quantity of fuel, a few donkeys were taken along into the mountains to help with the carrying.

Often his mother, and even more frequently his grandmother, 372
sent the boy to the nearby caravan route in order to collect cow and 415
horse dung in a basket. This dung was then spread out on the flat roof of the house for drying and was then in turn used for fuel. Drogpa Namgyal once heard his grandmother give his mother a severe scolding

whose origin the boy could not explain intermingled with the howling of the wind and the rushing of the Indus River. Namgyal's eye sharpened by his awakened imagination, then spied shadowy figures as they suddenly moved over the mountain slope and above him through the air. At those times the boy liked to be close to his companion. "Did you see that?" his comrade Puntsog asked him one evening as they were driving their herd along through the narrow gorge as darkness was descending upon them. They were late because they had had to spend a long time searching for animals that had strayed away from the herd. "There, up by the precipice it was rushing along!" "Yes, I saw it too," answered Namgyal, "it was a fox." "Yes, but didn't you see anything else? Someone was riding on the fox; /40/ it was gongpo with a large, round head, bristly hair and a hideous grimace, with bared teeth, two red eyes and a third eye on its forehead, and long claws on its fingers. It was shaking its hand threateningly at us. Come, let us hurry so we get home fast!"

When Namgyal came home he asked his grandmother, whose favorite he was and who had already told him quite a lot of terrifying things about evil spirits who are housed in mountain and valley, what kind of a being that was they had seen and told her what they did. She answered: "Let Meme (the old) Konchog Trashi tell you that, nobody knows more about these spirits and their activities and no one knows the old sagas and fairytales as well as he."

What Old Konchog Trashi Told Namgyal about Gods and Demons

One of the following evenings Namgyal went to the old Gyamstopa (16) Konchog Trashi, the storyteller and narrator of legends who is

16. Written in Tibetan, rgya-mt'so-pa, it signifies "seaman," the house name of the person concerned.

known through the length and breadth of the land for his narrative skill. Namgyal arranged it so that he would not have to look up the old man in his own house because his wife had leprosy in the highest degree; for this reason Namgyal was afraid to come near to her. He met the storyteller as he was sitting under his large nut tree at the edge of the irrigation ditch where he was spinning threads from coarse yak's hair. At the request of Namgyal Konchog Trashi, a small figure with a

538 weather-beaten face and dressed in an old, dirty coat which was very badly worn at the bottom, started telling some of his tales. The boy listened intently as he told of the old kings and heroes which after their death had become gods, of the mighty king Kesar and his heroic deeds, of gods and demons, nymphs and dwarfs who lead their existence in mountain and dale, in lake and in marsh.

"Can you see the old, knotty poplar there at the edge of the brook," the old man asked, "and can you see the lhato underneath, the roughly built altar of unhewn stone? Yes! You can also see the tall pile of horns of ibexes and wild sheep, which have been stacked on top of it, and the twigs of juniper, wild roses and the little colored flags with the prayers and formulas of exorcism printed on them, which the lamas have made and which we have then stuck on there. On this altar and in the tree there lives Yul-Lha, the god of the village. Usually he is favorably inclined towards us; only one may not provoke him by taking something away from the altar or by breaking off a twig from the gods' tree (lha-śin), or by dirtying the place. Then Yul-Lha becomes angered and sends sickness and death to our cattle. You can see over there the little bowls with sacrificial offerings, barley, rice, beer, and also flowers; we bring such gifts to the god in order to incline him favorably towards us. Once he has become very angered at us and has sent misfortune and sickness into the village, we have a few lamas invoke and exorcize the Lha; then he is intimidated and we again remain undisturbed by him for a while.

Have you ever looked carefully at the picture of your household god in the house temple of your father? Above your house door there is also a small picture of him: a human figure with a pig's head. The god is wrapped in a wide, flying mantle which is open in front; in one hand he bears a victory banner (rGyal-mt san), in the other a trident. This P'a-Lha (ther Fathers' God) is also a powerful deity, and one must be careful to remain in his favor. You will have noticed that your father or your mother let dry twigs of a juniper tree glow away slowly over redhot charcoals in an earthen bowl on the house roof every morning. That is the smoke offering to the P'a-Lha. The latter protects the house and the sacred hearth, keeps away other hostile spirits by frightening them through his terrible grunting and by his magical powers, lest they should bring bad luck and disease into the house. But one must be extremely careful not to provoke the P'a-Lha. When in anger, he is terrible. The P'a-Lha is enraged if an impure person, a Muslim, a smith, a Beda or a Kristan (Christian) should enter the house or should even

touch the hearth; he becomes angered if someone accidentally should burn an old rag, a dog's dung or something else which might cause a bad smell in the hearth fire. And it causes the lamas great difficulties--and considerable expenses to the owner of the house--to appease the outraged deity again by means of /42/ offerings, prayers and invocations, and to put him at rest again."

Many another evening the two would sit together in the evening twilight under the nut tree, the old man and the boy, until the black night descended upon the mountain and the chasm. Namgya simply could not hear enough of the gods and spirits, their activities and their nature. Konchog Trashi told the attentively listening boy about the mighty Lu (klu), the water gods and nymphs, who have their empire in the depths of the earth, in rivers, lakes and marshes, but also up in the air. They are represented by human bodies with snakes which from the neck up rise over the head, or by just the upper parts of the human body, which below go over into the body of a snake. On pictures they also appear solely as snakes. They are the guardians of immeasurable treasures in the inner parts of the earth. Another time they appear as dragons which produce the rain and which control the course of the waters. They form states which are ruled by mighty kings; upon their favor depends the growth and prospering, and welfare in the human world. When a human being angers them, he is afflicted by drought, crop failure, disease and death.

The old man also told of the red Tsan (btsan) demons who chase along as "wild hunters" over the mountains and through the clouds and whose discharged arrows bring disease and death to man; furthermore he told of witches and vixens, of hobgoblins and dwarfs. The latter are active in the ruins of the Balukhar, the "dwarf castle" (20) /the

20. In reality a customs tower (toll tower) which was built at the bridge across the Indus and formerly used to stand there, for the purpose of levying tolls.

numbering of the footnotes suddenly skips here from 16 to 20. --translator/, there at the bank of the Indus. "My neighbor, the Bandhepa, recently encountered a dwarf," said the old man, "as he was riding late one night from Nyurla (a neighboring village) to his house after a wedding at which they had a beer party. There the little man was standing between the large stone blocks to the side of the road with his

776 legs astride, a dwarf only a tru (21) high, his beard just as long, wearing

[804] 21. 1 tru (k'ru) is equivalent to the length of the lower arm of an adult person from the elbow to the tip of his extended middle finger.

a cap and carrying a stick. The Balu (dwarf) had, as my neighbor told me, looked at him sharply and then he had laughted broadly and shrewdly at the man who almost fell off his little horse because he was so frightened and a little drunk with the beer."

[532] One evening Konchog Trashi brought a picture along for his young friend /43/ whose thirst for knowledge was a pleasure to him. The picture had been made by a mask maker and painter Ishe Lhundrub, who also produced the hideous devils' masks for the monastery and painted the pictures of the Buddhas, holy men, and gods. He had painted it on paper copying it from models in varied, shining colors and then he had mounted it on silk. It represented the terrible goddess of revenge dPal-ldan-Lha-mo (22). She is the wife of the god of death and

22. The dreadful goddess of terror Kali of Hindu mythology. There she is the wife of Shiva, the destroyer.

prince of hell Shin-je (gśin-rje, Sanskrit Yama). "This couple had a son. Father and son were enemies of the sacred teachings of Buddha," so recounted Konchog Trashi, "and the son attempted to extinguish this doctrine. Thereupon the mother who was a zealous adherent of the faith, became enraged, killed her disloyal son, skinned him, ate his heart and drank his blood from a bowl which she made from the skull of her son. Then she mounted her yellow mule upon which she had placed the skin of her son as a saddle-cloth and fled from the rage of her husband. Now Shin-je pursued his angry spouse and murderess of the child and shot a magic arrow at the fleeing goddess which hit the mule in the rear shank. Lhamo, however, transformed the wound by a magical formula into an eye and thus escaped the raging husband. Since that time dPal-ldan Lha-mo has been the fiercest fighter for the sacred doctrine of Buddha."

Konchog Trashi showed his young, eager friend the picture of the Dreadful One. There she is shown riding along on her pale yellow mule through a sea of blood in which the hacked-off limbs of the enemies of Buddha, who have been killed in battle, are floating. The

skin color of the goddess is the blue of the terror deities; her bristling, 776
upright hair surrounds her huge head like flames, upon which has been placed a crown consisting of the skulls of killed enemies. From her three eyes she darts forth lightning. The goddess is dressed in only a loincloth of tiger skin and the skin of a human being; her belt is formed by snakes. Her right hand swings as a weapon the terrible trident, while in her left hand she holds the bowl of a skull filled with the blood of enemies. On the first day of the first month in the year a great mass is [782]
celebrated in honor of dPal-ldan Lha-mo in the monastery temple in the neighboring Lamayuru monastery. This mass is performed in order to appease the anger of the feared goddess /44/, because the "unbelievers" constantly provoke her by their activity.

No wonder the imagination of Namgyal was most strongly aroused 000
by all these narratives and pictures--[illegible] Konchog Trashi acquainted his knowledgeable pupil with a great mass of Tibetan-Buddhistic divinities, with Buddhas and demons--and no wonder fear constantly gained increasing dominance over the boy. At night when it was dark he scarcely dared to take the short path which led from their meeting place to his house. Every step of the way he was accompanied by pictures of those demons and terror gods whose figures and actions the old storyteller had so drastically placed before his eyes. Everywhere he thought he could see the hideous, grinning grimaces; in the rushing of the wind, in the gurgling of the river, in the shriek of the eagle, in the call of the stone-finch, the boy heard the voice of the Dreadful One, her furious, spine-tingling "Alala!" Fear held the hitherto so courageous boy in its ban for a long time and inhibited his activities and his development.

By now Namgyal had heard enough about gods and demons and 773
of their mostly pernicious activities. For the time being he had no desire to hear them any more. On the other hand, he was fascinated by the stories of a lama who wandered around the countryside. Once during the winter he came to the village and stayed there for an extended period of time. To the people who crowded around him every [532]
day he showed painted pictures mounted on linen cloth and supplied with a border of silk. These pictures had round sticks attached to them at the top and at the bottom and they could be rolled up like a geographical map which is hung on the wall. The pictures represented scenes from the life and legend of Gautama Buddha. The boy was particularly interested in the stories of the 550 births of Buddha which preceded his last birth and at which he was born now as a god and now

584 destined for her daughter for herself and Norbu Wangchug had helped the two matchmakers get on their horses in a friendly manner, something which had not been quite superfluous. Then he had given Stobsldan's brown horse a blow on the rear shank with the flat of his hand so that the horse leaped forth and almost threw its rider into the brook which flowed along the side of the village path. And he had said, "Well, just bring the 'ransom' beer (hol-čan) soon."

It was a good thing that the horses of the Kalatse men knew the narrow, bad path so well, which leads from the valley steeply up to the highland plateau, and that they were able to find it with sureness even in the dark; it was further lucky that they did not stumble over the innumerable stones along the way or that they did not become frightened by the boulders that were loosened through their steps and which went thundering down the steep rocky slope. For the two riders completely entrusted themselves to the sharp senses and the sure footedness of their small, sturdy mountain horses. Not till the howling of a wolf sounded forth from up above along the edge of the plateau, which was soon answered by the howling of another wolf on the other side of the valley, and the horses became restless, did the men grasp the reins more firmly. Finally they had reached the plateau. On top there was blowing a strong gust from the west which cooled off and sobered the two heated heads. As they sobered up, however, the two otherwise quite courageous men were also overcome by fear. On the level plateau there lived /62/ a dreadful Tsan-demon 776 who occasionally appeared to wanderers. The men remembered the story which Konchog Trashi had recently told them. A company of men from the neighboring Teya once returned home to their village late in the evening after they had been drinking in Kalatse. On the plain the drunken men made a lot of noise and sang lewd songs and also reviled the lamas and the gods. Then suddenly a storm rushed along the plain, a cloud swept down from the mountains, and in the cloud Pagspa from the Shanku house (šan-ku, meaning "wolf") saw, as he recounted later, quite clearly the Tsan king with helmet and armor on his red horse, as he drew the bow and shot off an arrow. In the same instant Buchung screamed aloud, clasped his chest and slid off his horse. The Teya people brought him back to his home as a corpse. No wound was visible on him. He had been the loudest and the wildest reveller. Tsepell, too, is supposed to have been coughing blood since 000 that evening, which no lharje (Tibetan doctor) can cure. The men from Kalatse drove their horses on, which carried their riders in a

787 and presaged the anger of the gods. Dorje Dud-joms cut things short this time. When Lobsang Wanggyal asked for the horoscope two days later, the onpo received him with a friendly smile. "You can rejoice, gaga (gracious sir), your horoscope is not bad this time. The forces resisting the intentions of the betrothed couple are not too great. This might be quite different; all the things that we have seen in this respect!" The Dragshos could believe that fully, just judging from his own observations. "The mighty water deities especially are favorably inclined towards you--at least until now. Your ample lu-stor (offering to the water gods) and the reading of the book klu-abum (book of the 100,000 water gods) have put them into a favorable mood, too. Only the Don and Dre demons are not of a favorable disposition anyhow; you cannot trust them. Perhaps you have been somewhat negligent in recent times with your offerings and the reading of the necessary books. You should just catch up with what you have neglected; I have written down the books that you must have read and the offerings that should be presented. And--wait a minute! Something just occurs to me--I had almost forgotten about that. You want to hold the wedding in the [776] first month of the new year. In that month a new Lha (god) just wants /63/ to move into the gods' tree in Tingmogang, where you are going to have the first wedding festival. This god is as yet unknown and so he cannot be trusted. You must immediately put him in a good mood through offerings. He comes from Hundar. There he raged terribly and in his rage brought smallpox to the people of the village of Hundar. Surely you know that there and in the neighboring villages over eighty people died of smallpox. Then the lamas drove the Lha away by their formulas and exorcisms. Now he is about to move into the gods' tree in Tingmogang, as the lamas who live there have found out. Therefore, be careful and get yourself on good terms with the Lha right away so that he will not ruin your plans. The main wedding feast, which will be held in Tingmogang in the house of the bride's parents, should take place on the 21st of the first month. That is a Thursday (41), a propitious day for all marriages; the other days of the week are

777 41. Among the peoples of the East, as among those in the West, including also our Germanic ancestors, Thursday is accounted a lucky day for marriages; to the gza-p'ur-bu (Jupiter's day) there corresponds in Old High German Donar's day, the day of the Thunder (Storm) God Donar who with his weapon, the hammer, protected marriage, just like

585 below at the edge of the altar. Then he calls out loud and the entire
789 chorus of those around him joins in the piercing yell: "Kye, kye, gsol, gsol, lha rgyal-lo! (Oh, oh, we call upon you, we call upon you! You, god, have conquered (the hostile demons)."

585 Finally the entire company mounts the horses that have been held in readiness, and in a comfortable amble they ride through the gorge and over the plateau towards Tingmogang. The day before, a whole crowd of men and women had already traveled there, heavily laden with carrying baskets containing clay jugs of beer, bread, flour, meat and other provisions. Within an hour and a half the riders have
361 reached the edge of the plateau, where it drops down steeply to the valley that cuts deep into the mountain. In the valley lies the large double village Teya-Tingmogang, where the wedding celebration is to take place today. Desolate and bare the mountain scenery lies before them, only down in the wide bottom of the valley can one see here and there a group of willow trees, poplars, and apricot trees which now in winter stand bare of leaves. Valley and slopes are covered with snow. Among the houses of the farmers which lie scattered in groups
342 down in the valley, the large, stately house of /79/ Norbu Wangchug, the Chirpon house, is quite conspicuous. It has a flat roof, projecting open balcony like all the other houses, but it is much larger and better built; the windows are larger too, and closed off with lattices. None of the houses has glass windows.

585 The procession of Kalatse people has now descended the steep path from the plateau and is slowly moving to the Chirpon house. From all houses and from the flat roofs the riders are greeted with "ʑu, ʑu, no-no-pa-le! (good day, good day, you gentlemen)." Now they have arrived at a fork in the road. The train halts before any one of its
[776] riders has passed this fork. Here a road devil (lam-bgegs) leads his existence. The dreaded devil must be appeased by an offering of in-
[782] cense and scattering (of barley and beer) and by a dance. The same thing is repeated two more times until they have arrived at the Chirpon house far up in the valley.

Now the procession of Kalatse people stands before the gate of the large farmyard. It is locked. The bridegroom and his followers are not given a friendly welcome. From the yard they can hear a loud babel of voices, excited talking back and forth of the men, giggling and joking of the women. The Chirpon people are gathered in the courtyard with their entire tribe, but they do not admit the Nyaopas who now request permission to enter in order to demand the bride for

the bridegroom. 585

The Nyaopas outside the gate and the Chirpon people in the yard now start a singing game, the meaning and content of which is the following: The five Nyaopas come to buy the bride in the name of the bridegroom's father. They claim to be the sons of god who have come from the realm of the gods on the high mountains, from the region of the glaciers. Their appearance arouses astonishment among the inhabitants of the house and their clan; for, as they believe, no one could escape from that realm which on all four "points of the compass" (above, below, to the right and to the left) is guarded by four female animals. The guards are: the white ice lion with the turquoise-colored mane (sen-ge dkar-mo gyu-ral-can) above at the glacier; the little fish golden-eye (nya-mo gser-mig) below in the glacial brook; the wild queen of the birds (bya-rgyal rgod-mo) on the rock to the right; the giant striped tigress (rgya-stag k'ra-mo) in the sandal wood forest to the left. [776]

/80/ The people of the bride's house now jokingly put a long series of questions in the form of a song (63) to test the Nyaopas, which 585 533

63. The songs that now follow are taken from the collection Tibetische Hochzeitslieder /Tibetan Wedding Songs/, collected by A. H. Francke, Folkwang Verlag, Hagen i. W. and Darmstadt, 1923. They have been translated by Francke from the Tibetan (Ladakh dialect), and Mrs. Paalzow has transposed them into their original meter. I am giving some of the songs in my translation. According to Francke some of the songs sung here represent a kind of catechism of the pre-Buddhistic religion of the Tibetans and give insights into the mythology and the cosmology of that period.

the latter answer by likewise singing a song. As soon as an answer is not made satisfactorily the gate is opened for just a moment from the inside, the boys and girls rush out and beat the Kalatse boys amid rough jokes. Then the Chirpon people withdraw again and lock the scarcely opened gate. The singing game begins. 585 533 539

The Chirpon people inside in the courtyard of the bride's house sing:

The Ice God closed off the three valleys

585 789 must be presented to the gods and the demons of the bride's new dwelling place, in order to put them into a favorable mood lest they should oppose the new arrival. The abbot who had come along with /109/ four of his monks because he knew that there was still work for him to do, steps up to the crossing of the ways; on a copper plate he holds three little lamps (mčod-kor) in the shape of a chalice made of bread dough. Butter has been put into the hollow at the top, a wick has been put inside the butter, which was then lighted. Now the abbot steps before the bride, holding in his right hand the bronze thunderbolt (dorje) and the magic bell (dril-bu), and in his left hand the plate with the little burning lamps. Three times he swings them slowly in a circle around the head of the bride who is crouching before him and exorcizes the demons with the following words: "None of the male or female 574 Gong (122), none of the male or female Dre, the Tsan, the Dud, none

122. The names cited here designate various kinds of demons.

of the 80,000 Gegs devils, none of the 424 kinds of Don with their entire following may ever harm this bride! May they eat their fill from this meal and then each one go to his place!" After this exorcism from the mouth of the abbot, in which the four other lamas join in with deep, rumbling voices, the instruments start up again with a shrill sound. A lama novice relieves the abbot of the three little lamps made of bread dough and flings them among the blocks of stone lying around by the crossing of the paths. Then another lama hands the abbot a clay pot (dza-blug) into which have been put all kinds of shabby remnants of the wedding feast: used tea leaves (ja-ro), brewer's grain (sbaṅ-ma), remains of onions, garlic, radishes, a few bones that have been picked, and a piece of fur from one of the sheep that was consumed. The abbot places himself with the pot in front of a stone block on which a lama had previously drawn the figure of two crossed thunderbolts (rdo-rje rgya-dram), flings the pot with its appetizing content against the stone so that it breaks into pieces and the contents are scattered about. Now the demons may eat their fill from these "delicious" things and then they are to go each to his proper place (123).

123. This treatment of the demons on the part of the Tibetan lamas is reminiscent, as many of their defensive measures against the dieties are, of the conception of the "stupid devil" which one encountered until recent times also among the

/Following page 112

532
776

A praying Buddha figure

595 But it must be -ri that
567 nevertheless the woman's position in general is a much higher and more dignified one than that of the woman in India, especially those in Hindu families. The Tibetan woman in the polyandrous marriage often occupies a highly honored, yes, even dominating influence as mother of the family and as mistress of the sacred hearth. Exceptions only go to prove the rule. Compare also Tafel, Meine Tibetreise /My Tibetan Journey/, Stuttgart, Berlin and Leipzig, Union Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, p. 342 ff.

Marital Life and Household.

000 Drogpa Namgyal and Chosskyid became an increasingly happy married couple. It is true that the talk before the marriage about Chosskyid's tendency towards frivolity had not been entirely unfounded. The atmosphere in her parental house was not a good one, her father was a man of the world who in no way took the third commandment of the Buddhists (130) literally. But when she was removed from the

[779] 130. "Thou shalt not commit illicit sexual intercourse," says the third of the ten commandements of the Buddhists.

unhealthy environment of the parental home, and came under the influence of her husband who gave her support with a loving and firm hand, and when she was brought into the education of her husband's energetic grandmother, she developed into a faithful wife and an efficient housewife.

842 It was a great grief for her that she was denied a child for two years, all the more so since it is considered a disgrace for a Tibetan [784] woman to be sterile (mo-śam). Upon the advice of the hermit Tsetan, her husband called five lamas into the house, who for two days performed ceremonies (sku-rim) and mumbled prayers to the benign [776] goddess, the sovereign White Tara (sgrol-dkar), asking them to present Chosskyid with a son. During this time the lamas were entertained well and amply with food and drink. Lobsang Wanggyal also put a silver coin into the hand of each of the red-coats, as they were leaving. Despite all this Chosskyid continued to be denied the joys of motherhood. Thereupon the hermit advised her //118/ to do a pilgrimage to the nearby monastery of Tingmogang and to have new brass offering lamps placed before the image of the White Tara there. This she

and down the mountain slope twice, and there I saw something gleaming between two large boulders--my necklace! This was the effect of the dosmo amulet." "Yindro" (meaning, "it may have been like that"), said Namgyal drily and set about his preparations for the journey, for he wanted to have taken part at least once in the great dosmo festival, and he also wanted to please the king. On the 25th of the twelfth month he set out for Leh.

The celebration of the King's New Year or Dosmoche begins as early as the 28th day of the twelfth month and in its entirety it again lasts for five days. The festival usually takes place in the first half of February but the exact time according to the Gregorian calendar constantly shifts, as do all Tibetan dates, because the two calendars can never be made to agree completely.

On the morning of the first holiday the lamas and the onpos first of all erect the large dosmo (magical pole) in an open place in the desert outside the town of Leh. The dosmo has already been described earlier. The one used here is distinguished by its height and by the large number of string stars, string crosses and pentagrams (134) that are attached to it. The pole is about eight meters high

134. The pentagram or the "witch's foot" was a frequently used symbol in medieval magic to ward off evil spirits. In Faust, Part I, Mephisto explains that he is rooted to the spot by a pentagram/the German "Drudenfuss," literally a "witch's foot," is simply a synonym for a pentagram. --translator/on the threshold. He needs a rat's tooth in order to break the spell.

and everything about it is proportionately larger than other dosmos used on other occasions, such as the dedication of a house, the exorcism of demons of disease, and the like. The lamas and some pious laymen have prepared themselves for the festival by fasting and the reading of sacred books, praying, and pilgrimages. After the large dosmo has been erected the lamas present a food and drink offering (ser-skyems) to the Buddhas and the gods.

On the 29th day of the twelfth month the lamas bring the storma offering (gtor-ma) (135). In so doing the monks and onpos

135. In the storma (gtor-ma, casting or scattered offering) the "Three Pleasing Aromas" (dri sna gsum) are often mixed in with the dough of the sacrificial cake as a special offering for the Drisa spirits (Sanskrit, Gandharva), the "aroma eaters,"

angel-like creatures which, floating around in the wide spaces of heaven, refresh themselves with pleasing fragrances of all kinds. But they also appear in the shapes of flies and of other insects and as such they buzz around heaps of refuse and piles of dung in order to "eat odors" there too! For this reason it frequently happens that feces and other impure matters derived from human beings are put inside this storma offering, in place of pleasing scents. The storma is supposed to have taken the place of human sacrifices, which used to be made to the gods and to the demons, in pre-Buddhistic times.

separately read prayers and exorcizing texts in order to drive out the evil spirits of the old year with them. The dances which the magicians perform with hideous demons' masks before their faces and magical daggers and skull drums in their hands, have as their purpose the banishment of those hostile spirits so that they will leave the people unharmed in the new year. This is the "ceremony of the dying /138/ year" (lo-si-sku-rim). After the reading of the particular formulas involved, one of the lamas takes up the pyramid-shaped offering cake which has been placed in readiness, and carries it out to a crossing in the road in the desert. There he flings this cast offering among the rocks, so that it breaks into countless little pieces, and invokes the spirits telling them to refresh themselves with the "precious meal," and in exchange for this to let the people live in peace during the new year, and not to inflict upon them any kind of harm or malicious attacks. Some Tibetans who can afford the expense, have the lama fling their own cast offering (for which they pay him), in order to be perfectly secure against the evil activities of the demons.

Towards evening the great magical pole with all its crosses, made of string and its pentagrams, is surrendered to the people, who have been standing around with tense expectation, in order that they may tear the pole down. Namgyal stood with a few friends in the very midst of the excited crowd.

Now they are all prepared to tear the pole down. Another last dance is performed by the onpos around the mast, a few exorcizing formulas are spoken--the spirits of the old year are called upon to enter into the string stars and the pentagrams, wild, shrill music starts playing, demonic sounds as if from hell, wild shouting, whistling, yelling from the crowd; then, at a sign given by the onpos, the people rush upon the desmo. The pole crashes to the ground and now there commences a

789

drought and crop failure for the new year. At this, the farmers of Kalatse were frightened, and some of them, the wealthiest among them, joined forces in order to do their utmost to ward off the threatening disaster, let the cost be what it would. That lama soothsayer had advised them, everyone individually, to have the rain-giving deities invoked once more in particular by one of his monastery brothers. In this way they would get to the right place. For, after all, it was these dieties who gave growth and prosperity with the necessary rain.

Thus, Namgyal also called in a Gelugpa monk in order to perform the prescribed ceremonies. The lama, who, as a "true believer," wore a yellow cap with the red dress of his order (the unreformed) lamas wear red caps) came, and after he had undertaken the ritual washings, he went into the adjoining valley, through which the water-supplying brook flows. There he sat down by a well and cleared the spot in the circumference of one meter. Then he set up a small brown statue of Tsongkapa, the great reformer; in front of this he placed a brass vase containing a bouquet of non-poisonous flowers as an offering gift, as well as some grain in a brass bowl, a white offering cake and a vase covered with jewels. In the latter the lama placed pills made of bread dough, spices, and flowers. Over each one of these pills the priest pronounces the magical formula of Tsongkapa 108 times, he blows at the pill, for his breath supposedly has magical powers, and then he places each individual pill inside the vase and covers the latter with a red cloth. Now the lama takes a book about rain magic (139)

139. The instructions for the conjuring of the Nagas (water gods) are contained in Tsongkapa's, the reformer's, book, dmigs brtse-ma las t'sogs; there Buddha, the Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Manjushri are implored for rain. Tsongkapa is worshipped by the sect of the "Virtuous" (Tibetan, dge-lugs-pa) founded by him, and by the laymen served by this order. Images and statues of him are to be found in all Gelugpa monasteries and in many household temples, He, too, is considered a rain-giving deity. [776]

in his hand, whose author is supposed to have been the reformer who has long since risen to the dignity of a Bodhisattva /148/, and in his name he implores the rain-giving deities for the coveted moisture. The rain prayers contained in this book are supposed to be based on an ancient Indic Sutra (text) concerning the prayer addressed to the Great

527 transport services rendered for the Indian merchants and officials. Therefore the inhabitants of Kalatse decided to celebrate a large harvest festival that year. The hermit Tsetan, whose advice they liked to hear, had said: "By the grace of the "Three Jewels," you have had a good year, so you must also be thankful to them!" They followed his advice in their manner and decided to do something which they had not done for a long time, namely to offer a banquet to the gods and demons. And this could of course not be carried out without the cooperation of the lamas. Namgyal did not want to lag behind either in this great enterprise, in which all the greater farmers took part as paying contributors. After all, it might be of use.

On the day designated, therefore, eleven lamas from the Tingmogang monastery paraded with books, magical bell, dorje, with drums, kettle-drums, and the long trumpets, announcing that the banquet was to be prepared for the gods in the temple of that monastery. 557 A /150/ long series of gods of all classes was invited to this feast, in 776 particular by the priests: The "Bodhisattva of contemplation" (Vajrasattva); the god of death, Yama, the terrible judge of sinners in hell; furthermore the god of wealth, Kubera who holds the Ichneumon in his hand, which spits out jewels at his command; he was one of the rain-giving gods among the ancient Indians already, and was very popular; further there were invited the goddess who roamed around heaven (mk'a-agro-ma), the twelve dreadful Furies (stan-ma) whom one could not overlook unless one wanted to bring their wrath down upon one. In addition there were the mighty and moody local divinities, the nagas of the water, the earth, and of the sky. Tsongkapa, who had been turned into a god, could not be forgotten either; finally, and above all, the great Buddha himself had to be invited, for he, like the previously mentioned, also had power over the rain-giving deities. And lastly the heroes of Tibet's prehistory who had been advanced to the status of demigods, as well as a series of tutelary gods (Yidam) and rural deities, were likewise invited to the meal: altogether a colorful company. How may the great Gautama have felt when he was dragged out of his nirvana blessedness and placed in the midst of this company!

527 In the monastery everything had by now been prepared by the 782 lamas for the meal of the gods. The offering gifts were placed on a stair-like scaffold in front of the gods' images: On the lowest of seven steps were placed 84 brass offering lamps; on the step above it stood little pyramids of butter in the same number; then on the remaining

Then they would handle the robbers all right. 000

Drogpa Namgyal's Piety

As heir of the ancestors on his mother's side, Namgyal had inherited a tendency towards the religious. What the boy Namgyal had heard told by his father and by the old fairytale and saga narrator, Kontshog Trashi, as well as by the /following p. 160 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "The great reading. Lamas read the Buddhistic canon on behalf of the country." The second with the subtitle: "A dosmo."/ /161/ hermit Tsetán, about the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons, had made him think, had stimulated his imagination, but initially filled him with fear and terror. Often the boy stood lost in thought before the open door of the household temple, and with a silent horror looked at the figures of the various deities that were there portrayed in clay, in bronze, or in painted pictures. His father and the hermit had told him a number of things of the "Story and Legend of Gautama," of the prince Siddhart in India who finally became Buddha. He had heard in particular the stories of his many births in the shapes of gods, of human beings, and of animals, and how in his last visible existence he attained illumination (Bodhi) and with it the dignity of a Buddha. Namgyal knew of the great redeemer Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (spyan-ras-gzigs) (145) who, 776

145. Compare note 23!

animated by infinite love and mercy, is ceaselessly active in saving the suffering creatures of all kinds from the tortures of their changing existences, yes, even from hell. He often prayed to him, imploring him to lead him along the right path through all temptations and dangers of this earthly existence, into the Paradise of the West, the joyful realm Amitabhas, yes, even into nirvana.

On a trip with his father, Namgyal once saw the gigantic image of Maitreya (byans-pa) in Mulbekh. This is the Buddha of the future who, five thousand years after the passing of Gautama into nirvana, is to carry on as Redeemer the work of his predecessor. Supposedly, however, he is active even now from the Tushita heaven as the "Buddha of love" in the saving of tortured creatures, and he is highly honored by the Buddhists. Just like this "Saviour," Tara (sGrol-ma, Drolma), the benign goddess, the feminine counterpart of the Bodhisattva Chanrezig,

•776 also made a profound impression upon Namgyal at an early age. She is supposed to have come into being from the tears of Chanrezig, the tears which he shed from grief over suffering creatures. She is thought to be invested with the same power as the latter; she frees from all distress each person who approaches her, eradicates the sins of all births, defeats all enemies, even the demons, and finally leads those who put their trust in her into the painlessness of nirvana. She also bestows earthly goods, above /162/ all she bestows upon women the blessing of children that they have prayed for. Namgyal listened with deep emotion to the legends of this "most benign, most holy mother," which were told him, and at the command of his father he learned by heart a series of prayers addressed to her. Through his lively interest and eagerness to learn, Namgyal thus gradually became acquainted with many of the thousands of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons, (all together about four million gods of all classes can be counted), from the narratives and pictures. In his thoughts he occupied himself with these, even if he did not succeed in discerning a clear line in the confusion of figures and ideas, which his thinking and his questions could pursue. The older he became, the more he recognized, partly through the instructions of the hermit, that the striving of the pious man must above all direct itself towards one point: the liberation from the entaglements of this world and with it from suffering. But it was just here that he missed the clear guidance. There was a mass of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, saviours, and "redeemers." To each one were ascribed certain powers and qualities as a helper, "roads to salvation" were indicated, which, in part, ran in opposed directions. Namgyal searched in vain for the one straight path which led to true freedom. His awe of the great Unknown One, darkly surmised, and his feeling of dependence upon him, drove the boy and later the man to prayer as his educators and advisors taught him.

771 In order to understand Namgyal's pious striving, we must insert here a brief word concerning the praying of the Buddhist. Primitive Buddhism knew neither prayer nor ritual worship of deities, nor did it have a priesthood. In Buddhism, which is after all atheistic in essence, there was no room for the worship of a deity. The Buddha himself, it is true, did not deny the existence of gods, but to him they were beings which, like all others, are in need of redemption and which are not entitled to demand worship. Nor could the one who was "extinguished" in nirvana become the object of worship himself. According to Gautama Buddha's doctrine the seeker after salvation

did not require a redeemer, since the redemption was exclusively the work of the pious person himself who brought about his liberation by turning away from the world, /163/severing all ties to the world, killing off all desires, and finally also killing off the will to live. But as time went by it became more and more recognized among the pious Buddhists, that the most devout of humans beings is incapable of effecting his salvation unaided. The seeker after salvation came to feel more and more, as his efforts towards liberating himself met with failure, the need to implore divine assistance in prayer; because he realized that without a divine helper standing over him he would be unable to walk along the difficult "eightfold path" to painlessness.

From this need there sprang the saving powers. People looked for helping divinities, and they believed they could find them. At first they thought in silent worship of the great master (Buddha) and of his great disciples; they sought the holy places which had been trodden by the master's foot, following ancient Indian custom they circled around the places hallowed by him, in pious memory of him, in the direction of the course of the sun (so that the sacred object is to one's right), they erected memorials (dagobas, stupas, chorten) over relics of Buddha and other Great Ones. The relic service was the first form of a cult in Buddhism. From this there developed, in the course of the centuries, a regular worship of Buddha, an adoration of the person of Him who was extinguished in the nirvana. The people were scarcely aware of the nonsensical nature of this activity. What they did in effect was to drag the Extinguished One, the Substanceless One back into the sphere of the corporeal, and in imagination they furnished him with divine characteristics and powers. They erected temples for him, in which his disciples who were pronounced saints, were worshiped along with him; here the person tortured by sorrows and frightened, approached with childish trust the "Three Jewels" (Sanskrit, triratna; Tibetan, dkon-mc̄og gsum): the Buddha, the sacred Law (dharma), and the Monkhood (samgha), the trinity which may have remained impossible to grasp by his thought, but in which the pious person nevertheless surmised the power that brought salvation, and to which he went for refuge in case of external or of inner distress.

Gradually there was added to these "Three Jewels" an immense legion of purely fabricated Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, and demons. In the course of time the entire pantheon of Hinduism was /164/ incorporated into Buddhism, and upon the latter's migration to Tibet in the seventh and the eight centuries there was added again the entire

host of the local deities of this "sinister snow-covered country." The last-named, after they had been "converted" by Padmasambhava (146),

146. Padmasambhava, the Buddha priest and great Tantrik magician from Udyana (in present-day Afghanistan) came to Tibet with his priests and monks around the middle of the eighth century of our era, having been called in by king Trishrongldetsan. In an adventurous manner he then proceeded to "convert" the Tibetans to Buddhism, and in so doing he spread in that country the doctrine which had already been badly corrupted in India and particularly in his own home land. According to the saga he defeated and "converted" the gods and demons of Tibet in violent battle. They were overcome by him and were bound by an oath not to fight against Buddhism henceforth, but to promote and protect it in the future. Concerning Padmasambhava, compare Ribbach, "Vier Bilder des Padmasambhava und seiner Gefolgschaft," Supplement No. 5, of the Jahrbuch der Hamburgischen Wissenschaftlichen Anstalten, Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde, 1917.

were all more or less regarded as objects of worship, or at least they constantly had to be appeased through exorcisms and offerings. Finally the entire pantheon of the Bon religion was likewise readily incorporated into the Buddhistic pantheon.

The oldest form of prayer was the so-called "formula of refuge." We will give here one form of the expanded formula of refuge (skyabs-agro) of the unreformed lama sects: "All we living creatures take our refuge with Buddha on the basis of the intercession of the lamas; we take refuge with the Law (Dharma); we take refuge with the Monkhood (Samgha), with these Three Jewels. Further we take our refuge with the great army of gods (lha) and their following of tutelary deities, female demons, and defenders of the doctrine, who populate the Heavens."

There follows a long series of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, gods, demons, and the saints, with whom the praying person takes refuge; among these the primitive Buddha (Samantabhadra) and the founder of Lamaism, Padmasambhava, are particularly notable. Among the "reformed" lama sects (Gelugpa), Tsongkapa takes the place of the last-named.

Namgyal used to avail himself of an abbreviated formula of

and had he perhaps sat down by the stove and in this way angered the household god and the hearth god by making house and hearth impure by his presence?" With these and other, similar questions the patient was tormented; but all these questions were answered with no. Finally it turned out that the Mon, Chospell, (therefore an impure person) from the neighboring village, who was an enthusiastic huntsman /182/, had come into the house late one evening with the "red" (that is the fresh) meat of one of the wild sheep that he had shot, in order to pay off with the meat a debt of grain that he had with the Dragshos. Now this was a threefold transgression: first of all, killing was a great sin; secondly, the gods, especially the red Tsan-demons, were angered and provoked by the sight of this "red" meat; and thirdly, the household god was insulted by the sight of an impure person (the Mon) in the house. And in the tracks of such a visitor, if he was an impure one, there followed evil spirits into the house. These must now be exorcised by means of a scattered fire offering, and they must be chased away (t'sa-me p'aṅ-ces). While the men were still talking the Mon, Chospell, who was a carpenter, came again in order to deliver a small table that he had made. He was not admitted, but had to wait outside away from the house for a long time. 753

Meanwhile the first lama had a flat, iron pan handed to him, and said to Namgyal: "I want to show you how one makes a scattered fire offering and how one appeases and drives the evil spirits away with it." Namgyal had to put all kinds of leftovers from meals in the pan--pieces of bread, flour, rice, bones, onions, and salt--and on top of this he had to place red-hot coals and hot ashes, so that the house was soon filled with a stinking vapor. Now all the inhabitants of the house went through the stable down to the house door with the lama. The lama opened the door and threw some of the smoldering contents of the pan onto the threshold. The Mon who was still waiting outside to be let in, was now allowed to step over the vaporous mass and over the threshold and into the house, and to carry out his business. The lama declared that the evil spirits, gods, and demons were now all pacified and soothed: the red Tsan-demons, the Nod-jin (gnod-sbyin), who are the terror of the mountain passes, the devils (bdud), the water and earth deities (klu, sa-bdag), the Jungpo demons and fiends, the man-eating Shasa (śaza), the wondrous Mimchi (mi-am-ci), creatures half man, half god; the heavenly musicians (the Kinnara of Hindu mythology); the smell-eating Drisa (dri-za), angel-like creatures with wings, the "Non-gods" (lha-na-yin), the giants of the sacred Mountain 755 755 776

755 of the gods, Meru; the Dripo, the Drimo, the Poyong, the Moyong,
776 the Lhandre (lha-adre), all of these were /183/ now appeased and did not have to be feared any more, so the lama assured them; lured by the "sweet smell" of the food, they had, he explained, come to the spot immediately in order to enjoy it. And now, he stated, they were satisfied, had disappeared, and would no longer do the sick woman any harm, and she would certainly recover soon now.

753 Meanwhile the sick Chosskyid did not recuperate. Despite all
755 the statements of the lamas, the lharje, and the devil-tamer, foretelling her recovery, her condition became worse. There must be something special in the matter; certain gods are obviously still angry at the patient, said the great Lama Mipam. What in all the world has she done! They tortured the deathly weak woman with new questions. Finally came the answer: once she had accidently burned some dog's excrement with dry cow dung, and another time she had also burned
[776] an old rag in the stove. By these actions the hearth god (t'ab-lha) and apparently another god who just happened to be housed in a tree in the neighborhood, had been provoked. Their olefactory nerves, which in Tibet ordinarily were not spoiled, could not stand this stink. The gods demanded the "five pleasing offerings" (adod-yon-lha) for the five senses: for the taste--a food and drink offering: for the smell--flowers or incense offering: for the sense of sight--a mirror: for the hearing--musical instruments which, like the mirror, were placed before the altar: for the touch--silken clothes and similar articles.

753 Further, the confession was pressed out of the patient that during
776 the past autumn she had drunk from the well in the course of the grass gathering over there by the slope of the mountain beyond the Indus. At this well is housed the dreaded Lu, the water and snake god. She had been so thirsty that she just had to drink. But this had of course driven the Lu to anger, said the lama; for this he had made her ill. Finally Chosskyid also confessed that once in a great rush she had spilled a bucket of dish water over one of the red-painted stones before her house that are dedicated to the red Tsan god. That was another bad transgression which had aroused the fire in the gods.

755 To appease the Lu gods, the lamas read the book which they had brought along just in case, of the "hundred thousand Lu" (klu-abum); the Tsan deities received a storma (sacrificial cake for the /184/ cast offering), to which the lamas gave the shape of a human being and which they painted red. After reciting formulas of exorcism they carried the figure behind the house and into the adjoining desert and

From the day following the "changing of the body" the actual death ceremonies begin. The lamas sit in the household temple, the magician who is expert in black magic is called in together with the lama who took care of the "changing of the body." They do not enter the temple at first, but sit down in another (adjoining) room and set up the (death) horoscope.

Let us give an example here: The snake year person Tsering died, at the age of 42, on the 28th day of the 12th month of the Wood-Pig year, on a Thursday in the dragon hour at sunrise. Now, after the "changing of the body" has been carried out, the onpo must look up in the book about the za-ade (the demons who cause the death of human beings), whither the death demon of Tsering has turned. For the 28th day of the 12th month there is written in the book: On this "pig day" the demon of death has turned towards the East. He has now entered the house of a person with a lame leg only 15 paces away. The two people in that house, the snake year person and the pig year person, will suffer harm from evil spirits. They are quickly to perform ceremonies and make protective offerings (gtor-zlog). For the further ceremonies to be held (there), one should consult the book /219/ "The collected clear astrological instructions for the dead (gśin-rtsis kun gsal)." Since the wandering of the demon of death is described as such in the little book, and since a lame person actually lives to the east of the house of the deceased Tsering (!), the onpo is quickly called, and he is made to perform the necessary ceremonies for protection. This death demon (za-adre) is feared greatly by all people. They say that one step taken by this za-adre is equal to the two ells' jump of a living person (18). In the horoscope there now follows, as in the (money)

18. That means that there is no escaping from him.

donations of a noble queen, an ample count of the Shed (gśed, demons or killers) (19), and of the offerings necessary to fend them off.

19. gśed (meaning, "killers, demons of death"), another expression for za-adre. However, gśed also is an abbreviated expression used to designate the periodically returning offering ceremonies for the exorcism of the demons concerned.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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only one wife, unless she should have no son. Women are not married in Lâhaul merely to till their husband's land. It is very common to engage labourers for that purpose."

The Buddhism of the Punjâb Himalayas.

The Buddhism of Spiti and of the higher parts of Pâng in Chamba, the only portions of the Punjâb whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists, is the Lâmâism of Tibet, perhaps the most utterly corrupt form of the religion of Gautama. We have already seen how largely, so soon as we enter the Himalayas, the Hindûism of the plains becomes impregnated with the demonology of the mountain tribes. A similar fate befell Buddhism in the mountain ranges of Central Asia. To the mysticism, with which the northern school had already clothed the original simple creed, have been added the magic and devil-worship of the Tantras and the impure cult of the female principle or Sakti, till the existing system is a superstition rather than a religion. "As in India the Brâhmans have declared all the ancient village *thâkurs* and *devis* to be only so many different forms of Mahâdeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the *lâmâs* have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods and the dales. The following are some of the classes of deities which are worshipped under distinct Tibetan names: Mountain Gods, River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods, and House Gods. The mystical system of the Tantrists has been engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet, and the pictures of the prevailing sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying Iswara and of his blood-drinking spouse,* while the esoteric doctrines include the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyâni Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female symbol, plays a prominent part." The wrath of Kâli is daily deprecated in the religious service of the temples,† trumpets made of human thigh bones are used, and offerings are made to the Buddhas in which even meat is included, though one of the precepts most rigidly insisted on by Gautama was a regard for animal life. The priests "foretell events, determine lucky and unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven, or even eventually the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstitions, and their fears; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the *lâmâs* as their only protection against them. The *lâmâs* are therefore

* The image of Iswara has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body.

† This service is described at length in Chapter XIII of Cunningham's Ladâkh; it bears no little resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Hindú ideas and prejudices. The process has been going on in some degree ever since the Rájas of Kúlu annexed the country, but it has been greatly accelerated of late years by the notice taken by our Government of the Láhaulis and their headmen, and by their contact with Hindús more orthodox and exclusive than those of Kúlu and Chamba. The force of attraction which Hindú exclusiveness brings to bear upon outlying tribes is enormous, and seems to be in no way weakened by the fact that the Government is in the hands of Christians. That fact of political subjection leaves the Hindús no other vent for their pride of race but this exclusiveness, and therefore heightens its value. Moreover, the consolidation of many Hindú races into one great empire increases the power which Hindúism has always had of drawing outsiders into its circle, for in social matters the empire is Hindú, and as Hindús the Láhaulis are free citizens, while as Buddhists and Botiás (Tibetans) they would be left out in the cold. The Láhauli now looks upon the name of Boti as a term of reproach. One of the headmen, when in my camp on the borders of Ladákh, met his own brother-in-law, a Boti of Ladákh, and refused to eat with him for fear that my Hindú servants might tell tales against him in Kúlu and Kángra."

And in 18[illegible] Mr. Anderson wrote :—

"There are Buddhists in Láhaul, though there is a tendency now, as at the former Census, to record all as Kanet Hindús. *Lámás* are generally of the Kanet caste, though there are, I am told, cases where even *thákurs* have become *lámás*. The Kanet cuts his *chotí* as does a *gosain*, and becomes the disciple of some *lámá*, and this may be even after marriage. The *lámás* of Láhaul (Drukhpa class) may marry. Their sons belong to their father's original caste. *Lámás* sometimes cease to belong to the priesthood, allow their *chotis* to grow, and are again received as Kanets. Women become nuns and live in the monasteries, where the morality is far from pure. It is common for cases of seduction to occur, and then the abbot imposes a fine (*dharmdand chestín*) in the shape of a feast to the fraternity. These facts show how intimately Hindúism and Buddhism are connected in Láhaul. It is still common for both Bráhmans and *lámás* to be present at marriages and funerals."

Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

The religion of Spiti is the Tibetan system of Buddhism, of which an excellent account is given in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*. The religion of Láhaul is the same, but mixed up with some ideas and observances borrowed from Hindúism, and with a substratum of the worship of local spirits and demons, which has already been described as existing in Kúlu, and which appears to be the primeval religion of the country of the high Himalayas inhabited by Hindú races. The following description of the religion of Láhaul was written down at Mr. Lyall's request by the Reverend Mr. Heyde in November 1868. His long residence among the people, by whom he is invariably respected, and great knowledge of their language and customs, ensure its accuracy :—

"The religion of Láhaul has been for a long time, and is still essentially Buddhism. It is, however, difficult to ascertain at what time this religion was introduced, as there do not exist any historical documents in Láhaul itself, and little reliance can be placed upon the vague traditions preserved by even the best informed men, such as *Thákur* Tára Chand and others. From their accounts, however, it may be gathered that long ago the kings of Ladákh, or rather a branch of the family (which at that time

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde] [Punjab Gazetteer,

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reigned over Gúge and some other provinces of Ladákh), exercised a great influence in the matter, and were zealously engaged in propagating and establishing the Buddhist religion, especially in Láhaul. When, under their rule, crimes or smaller offences had been committed by Láhaulis, the offenders were punished by making them build religious monuments. Thus, for instance, all the *mánis* and many of the *chhoditens* which are so common by the road-sides in Láhaul were originally built in accordance with a sentence by convicted offenders in expiation of their misdeeds.* According to Csoma-de-Körös and others, Buddhism was established in Tibet in the seventh century of our era,† and from thence and Ladákh it was no doubt introduced into Spiti and Láhaul, but probably to a small extent only up to the time of the king of Gúge before mentioned. I am unable to fix the date when the Gúge chiefs ruled over Kárjá (the Tibetan name for Láhaul), the native accounts being too uncertain.

"Without doubt there existed a very low kind of religion in Láhaul before Buddhism got hold of the people, and the latter has not been able to suppress it entirely. That early religion of Láhaul is still known under the name of *Lung pachhoi*, that is, the religion of the valley. When it was flourishing, many bloody, and even human, sacrifices seem to have been regularly offered up to certain *lhá*, that is, gods or evil spirits, residing in or near old pencil-cedar trees, rocks, caves, &c. This cruel custom disappeared gradually after the doctrine of the Buddhists had influenced for a time the minds of the people. There is a story which I shall relate, as it seems to show that this was the case: Near the village of Keylang a large dry pencil cedar was standing till last year, when we felled it for fire-wood: the story goes that before this tree, in ancient times, a child of eight years old was annually sacrificed to make the spirit who resided in it well-disposed towards the inhabitants of Keylang. The children seem to have been supplied in turn by the different families of the village. It happened one year to be a widow who had to give up an only child of the required age of eight years. The day before her only one was to be taken from her she was crying loudly, when a travelling *lámá* from Tibet met her, and asked the cause of her distress. Having heard her story the *lámá* said: 'Well, I will go instead of your child.' He did so but did not allow himself to be killed: 'the spirit must kill me himself if he wants human flesh,' said he, so saying he sat himself down before the tree and waited for a long time; but as the demon made no attack on him, he became angry, took down from the tree the signs and effigies, and threw them into the Bhága river, telling the people not to sacrifice any more human beings, which advice was followed from that time forward. The demon fled and settled on the top of the Kokor pass, where it still dwells under the name of the Keylang *lhá* or god of Keylang, getting now only the annual sacrifice of a sheep supplied by the shepherds.

* A *máni* is a long, low and broad wall or dyke of dry stone masonry covered with slabs or round smooth pebbles, on which the prayer *Om máni padme hum*' is carved. Some in Spiti are near half a mile in length. A *chhoditen* is a tall pyramidical monument, dedicated to Buddha, or containing the ashes of some Buddhist saint or holy man. The carved stones on the *mánis* are made by the monks in the winter. They sell many to persons who wish to place one or more upon a *máni* in fulfilment of a vow, or in support of a prayer. Mr. Heyde means that the offender built the walls, not that they put the carved stones on them. Prayer-wheels turned by water are commonly to be seen outside villages in Láhaul and Spiti.

† Great Tibet ought to be read for Tibet, for in Ládákh or Western Tibet Buddhism appears to have been established many centuries before. General Cunningham puts its first introduction into Ladákh at B. C. 240, and its first firm establishment there at some time during the first century before Christ.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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In the time when the *Lung pachéi* was the only religion that existed in the valley, there were doubtless more places in Láhaul where human beings were immolated to supposed gods and evil spirits. At present, near not a few villages sheep and goats are yearly killed and offered up (contrary to the precepts of Buddhism) to evil-disposed *lhás*, and it may be that animals have now taken the place of men. 779

"Long after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Láhaul, Hindús immigrated from Kángra, Kúlu, Chamba, &c., but not in large numbers. One, two or more of them at a time settled as strangers among the tolerant Buddhists, chiefly in the Chandra Bhága valley. They seem to have been Hindús of both high and low castes; some of them came five, six or more generations ago, others later. Not a few of them, I was told, had been bad characters, who, having committed murder or theft, or run away with other people's wives, &c., fled into the then obscure Láhaul in order to escape punishment. The regular and frequent commercial intercourse which the Láhaulis have always maintained with the neighbouring Hindú provinces and the influence of these immigrated Hindús, have always had some Hindúising effect on the religion of Láhaul, but this became still more the case when the province was governed for a time by the Hindú Rájas of Kúlu. It was probably then that the Láhaulis commenced to profess to keep caste, denied that they were in the habit of eating beef, &c.; their mode of dressing also underwent some change; the round cap worn by the natives of Kúlu is said to have come into general use in Láhaul at this time. 177 564 167

"Regarding religion the Láhaulis may be divided into four classes: (1), pure Buddhists; (2), pure Hindús; (3), and a class who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism; 4, Lohárs and Shipís or Dágis. 184 779

"The Lohárs consider themselves of a higher caste than the Shipís, but both are said by the other Láhaulis to have no religion at all; still they have certain rites which are performed in cases of sickness, burials, &c. For instance, I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohár, and saw a Shipí profess to charm away the disease by biting off the ears and tearing to pieces with his teeth a black kid which had been previously shot with a gun. The Shipís eat beef openly, while the Lohárs say they do not at all. [564] 795

"Those who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism live in the villages, on both banks of the Chandra Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál downwards. They maintain two or three small *gompas* (monasteries), and abjure beef, even that of the *yak*. In cases of severe illness, &c., they call in *lámás* and Bráhmans, who perform their respective rites at one and the same time; their leaning is stronger towards Buddhism than Bráhmanism.

"The pure Hindús are only found in a few villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága; nearly all of them are recognized in Láhaul, Kúlu, &c., as a set of low Bráhmans. Occasionally they will drink a cup of tea with the Buddhists and their half-brethren, but, as a rule, they refrain from eating with them.

"The pure Buddhists may be said to live in the villages on the Chandra from old Khoksar to Gondla, and on the Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál up to Dárcha and Rerig. They have about eight small *gompas* in which the chief image is that of Chom-dan-dás (—Shakya Thabba—Sangyás—Buddha), before which a *lámá* daily burns incense, and places offerings of dried and fresh flowers, grain, and water, and burns a lamp throughout the year. In several of these monasteries there are to be found a number of religious books. Besides Sangyás, special reverence is paid by the Láhaul, Spiti, Ladákh, and Tibet Buddhists in general to Avalokiteswára, called Chan-re-zig or Prágopa in Tibetan (worshipped at Triloknáth), and Pádma Pani, commonly called Lobpon in Tibetan, who is revered at the lake of Rawálsir [778] [782]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde] [Punjab Gazetteer,

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in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *chàng* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.

"All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

"As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothís* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrified *yák*.

"As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

* *Srog machhat*, *i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4 ●
Dard AV3

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(*c*) Mi dponpa: It comprises the following two families: Phanba, Kadcanpa. (The Tingdzinpa-family originated when a younger brother separated himself from the Kadcanpa family.)

(*d*) Rab blonpa: It comprises the following three families: bSod rnams phelpa, Bragcanpa, Skamburpa.

Besides those mentioned, there are three families which do not belong to any *pha-spunship*: Mon, Bhedapa and Starapa.

More families do not exist at Khalatse.

As regards the *Brushalpa*, they have taken their name from the village of Brushal near Gilgit, and they know for certain that their forefathers were colonists from Gilgit.

The *Pakorapa* also know that their forefathers once emigrated from the vicinity of Gilgit. Pakor is a Dard word meaning 'meadow.' Compare my Bono-na-songs, No. II.

Thus we see that out of 21 families which are members of *pha-spunships*, 16 trace their origin from the neighbourhood of Gilgit, which has remained Dard to the present day.

Mi dponpa means 'lord of men' and *Rab blonpa* means 'state-minister.' These two *pha-spunships* may go back to the Tibetan conquest of Khalatse, when their forefathers were perhaps the Tibetan lords of the Dard population.

From all this we see that the Dards, the lords of the country before the Tibetan conquest, were only colonists from Gilgit. Whom did they find in the country on their arrival? Did they perhaps find a Mon and Bheda population? All this I cannot solve.

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(3) *Remnant of the Dard language.*—It is most interesting that in one house of the Brushalpa, in the house Gongmapa, a last remnant of the Dard language has survived until the present day. On New Year's day when a new branch of the pencil-cedar is placed on the house-altar, the prayer is rendered in Dardi, because the spirit of the house is supposed to understand this language only. This is the prayer:

Dargyassi di sha nomo hla shuni
Shuni bi sha nomo hla shuni
Sinani bi sha nomo hla shuni

As a Tibetan translation this is given:

ངས་རྒྱལ་བྱེད་ཤ་ནོ་མོ་ལྷ་ཤུ་ནི།
ཤུ་ནི་ཡི་ཤ་ནོ་མོ་ལྷ་ཤུ་ནི།
ངས་གསུ་བྱེད་ཤ་ནོ་མོ་ལྷ་ཤུ་ནི།།

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

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585
104
779
174
782
776

Notes on the Tibetan Text.[1]

Nyopa, buyer, because the bride was bought in ancient times. The salutation in classical language *Om škrashiepar, etc.*, is exchanged after each strophe, but will not be repeated in these pages.

I. A. In all verses *ci'i don* means literally : it is the meaning of what ? II. B. As regards the meaning of names and general position of the heads of the Pre-Buddhist cosmology, see my paper on the Kêsar-Myth in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, 1900, No. XV. The syllable *sam* I was first inclined to translate by 'or,' but people told me, that they understood it to mean 'think,' in favour of which might be pointed to the people's response : Well thought, you mighty friends. In v. 4, 5, 6, and 7 the gods, who govern the four directions, are mentioned.

They are the properly Tibetan *lôkapâlas*. In Lamaism three of them have become *Dhyânibuddhas*, whilst *rDorje sems dp'a* has become their president. That their relationship to the four points of the globe has not yet quite been lost in Lamaism, is shown by the *Padmathanyig*, see Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, pp. 98, 99.

The names in literal translation mean :— 4. 'The thunderbolt with the courageous soul.' 5. 'The producer of great price.' 6. 'Fulfiller of the aim, he has.' 7. 'Eternal light.' With the exception of 6, all the names point plainly to the different manifestations of the sun. 7 in particular goes back to the idea, that the West is the receptacle of all the suns, which have been born up to the present day. This idea is too natural a one to have been imported from Persia. Instead of *ma shus* the original rendering was probably *ma shu*, the imperative being used for the optative. 8. *rTselha*, god of the summit. 9. *Yulthes*, village idol. 10. *Phalha*, god of the fathers, *i. e.*, family.

Notes on the English Translation.[1]

It might be well to say a few words about the scene, which forms the background of the songs. The **Nyopas** (*i. e.*, friends of the bridegroom, who were sent to buy the bride) come on horseback and clad in gorgeous dress (*vide* Plate) before the house of the bride and ask for entrance. This is refused to them unless they are able to answer certain questions. All the people of the house are armed with sticks and the *Nyopas* are beaten unmercifully as soon as they fail to prove their respectable origin by answering the questions satisfactorily. The people of the house light a fire of the wood of the pencil cedar and concerning the smoke of this the first questions are asked.

After the questions regarding the principal deities have been settled, in 8, 9, and 10 the local deities come in. Though in ancient times idols do not seem to have had a place in the Bon Religion, we can see how the idea gradually crept in. As we know from the Kêsar-Myths, the lha's or gods used to visit the earth frequently. High hills became known as places of the gods' descent, and to honour them properly, white altars were erected. By and by these altars or lhatho's were considered as being the dwelling places of certain *lha's* and at last the idea was developed, that wherever a *lhatho* was erected, a *lha* would soon take his seat. So we have a *lha* on the hill (near the castle) in 8, and the family (father) *lha* in 10. In 9 the word *thes* might point to a rough idol, compare Jäschke's *Dict. thesthes*. All of them have the epithet *snyanpo* = well sounding.

Song No. II.

A.

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II. A. legs bsams dbangi nyebo. nangmas.

1. phuru yar ysigs 'ang
gangs chu dkarpo de
su dang ganggi chang.

II. A. Well thought, you mighty friends. People of the house say :

1. Look over there to the upper valley !
That white glacier water,
What and whose beer is it ?

[1] [Cf pp. 133-135, category 11c -- Analyst]

[1] [Cf pp. 136a and 136b, category 11c -- ANALYST]

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

compromise has proved a failure, is shown by the fact that people have never been able to grasp it in full and are now on the point of abandoning it altogether.

As might have been expected, my interpretation of the Kēsar-Myths has been criticised[4] as being unscientific. There can be no doubt that there are no scientific means available to prove the solar origin of many a hero. It is so much easier to prove the descent of all of them from great ancestors. However, a certain amount of commonsense, now and then speaks in favour of a solar descent. In my notes to Wedding Song No. I., I said, that the name of the northern **Lōka, pāla-Donyodgrubpa** could not well be explained as a manifestation of the sun, but my critics have helped me to bring him into the system. From the Kēsar-Myths we learn, that **Kēsar**, the supposed spring-hero, had a different name before his birth on earth, that is, during winter. Then, whilst in heaven, he was called **Dongrub**, 'the fulfiller of the aim.' This name is, so to say, a prophecy, it indicates the future doings of the hero. There can be no doubt that the year and the day have certain parallels, and the winter of the year corresponds to the night of the day. Is it wonderful then, that the **Lōkapāla** of the north (i. e., the place where the sun is during night) should have the same name as the spring-god during winter? **Donyodgrubpa** means 'the fulfiller of the aim, he has.' The original name **Dongrub** was changed into a four-syllabled one simply to bring it into accordance with the four-syllabled names of the other **Lōkapālas**. Thus we see, that the name of the supposed spring-hero **Kēsar**, before his entering into action,' is in accordance with the name of the sun before his starting his day's work. Does this fact not suggest a possible solar origin of Kēsar?

Hitherto certain schools especially have considered it scientific to compare the mythologies of certain nations only with those of such nations as are related to them by language. However, religion overleaps the barriers of linguistic relationship, and there is no necessity to believe that a solar mythology had been worked out by a single nation and was carried to others by her missionaries. On the contrary, solar mythologies may have arisen in many countries and later on the different nations have borrowed one from the other.[5] The existence of the *Nibelungensage* not only among the Uigurs, but also among the Tibetans is an established fact. Compare G. N. Potanin: *Vostocnyje motivy v srednevěkovym zapadnojskim epose*. Moskau, 1899.

A COMPLETE VERBAL CROSS-INDEX TO YULE'S HOBSON-JOBSON OR GLOSSARY OF ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS.

BY CHARLES PARTRIDGE, M.A.

(Continued from p. 117.)

Bigha; *s. v.* Gudge, 307, i; ann. 1763: *s. v.* Beegah, 59, i.
Bighā; *s. v.* Beegah, 59, i, twice.
Bihar; ann. 1872: *s. v.* Dagoba, 226, i.
Bihār; *s. v.* Comotay, 184, ii, *s. v.* Behar, 764, ii.
Bihisti; *s. v.* Bheesty, 69, ii.
Bihishtī; *s. v.* Bheesty, 69, ii, 70, i, *s. v.* Jemadars, 350, i; ann. 1782: *s. v* Bheesty, 765, i.
Bihīshtī; *s. v.* Thakoor, 862, ii.
Bijah Gurh; ann. 1781: *s. v.* Bheesty, 70, i.
Bijai Singh; *s. v.* A Muck, 13, i.
Bijalár; ann. 1300: *s. v.* Bengal, 64, ii.
Bijapore; *s. v.* Gardee, 278, ii.
Bijapur; ann. 1510: *s. v.* Deccan, 233, ii.
Bijapār; *s. v.* Sabaio, 851, ii.
Bijāpur; ann. 1778: *s. v.* Mort-de-chien, 450, ii.
Bijapūr; *s. v.* Idalcan, 807, ii.
Bijápúr; ann. 1590: *s. v.* Coupetir, 202, i; ann. 1604 or 1605: *s. v.* Tobacco, 704, ii.
Bijāpār; *s. v.* Deccan, 233, i.
Bijanagar; ann. 1441: *s. v.* Satin, 602, ii; ann. 1563: *s. v.* Madremalnco, 821, i; ann. 1620: *s. v* Pardao, 842, i.
Bijanagar; *s. v.* Gentoo, 280, i.
Bijanagher; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Bisnagar, 73, ii.
Bijanaguer; ann. 1516: *s. v.* Nanninga, 474, i.
Bijanagur; *s. v.* Chinapatam, 158, ii.

[4] This remark refers only to private letters from certain professors; if I had had the pleasure of seeing Prof. Dr. Grünwedel's most interesting review of the *Kesar Myth* [published in the *Globus*, August, 1900], I should certainly have modified my expressions.

[5] Just like the *Wandermärchen*.

4 [Material pertains to a different article -- ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

is the only place where one can find such faith. Maybe that faith is part and parcel of the hillmen's belief in spirits that govern man's destiny when he walks the treacherous Himalayan trails—evil spirits that plot his destruction through avalanches, roaring torrents of water, and blinding blizzards; good spirits that comfort and protect him and drive off the evil ones. These legends and beliefs may have prepared a fertile soil for the legend of my hat. But the hat itself produced the seed that grew and flourished in that soil.

I have related the story of our departure from Manali on foot—how the villagers of Manali prayed for rain, how rain threatened as we started the trek, how destructive the downpour that struck us before we reached Koti. If I had worn my magical hat that day, it would never have acquired the reputation that it enjoyed, or perhaps the rain would have passed us by. But that day the hat traveled in a pack; it was unable to work its magic, and we were all soaked through.

The day we left Koti to cross Rothang Pass I wore my glass hat. Remnants of the storm clouds still played around the summits. There were some showers along the ridges, but none touched us. When we reached Rothang, dark clouds were swirling. There was the threat of snow and rain. But none came. We reached Koksar in bright sun that afternoon.

The next day I wore the glass hat. And as I crossed the newly built bridge and headed for Gundala, I told Budh Ram, "I guess it won't rain today."

"Why do you say that, Sahib?"

"Because it never seems to rain when I wear the hat."

Budh Ram and Man Das passed the word along to Tashi. I quickly discovered that my hat was fast becoming an object of interest—interest that grew and grew when it turned out that we were in clear sunshine all day long.

That night as Budh Ram served dinner in the dak bungalow at Gundala he asked, "Sahib, why is there magic in the hat?"

[Chapter 2; Not processed for files -- Analyst]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

with him in the Gilgit area of northern Pakistan. In 1950 he was flying the Karakorams. His orders were not to fly above fourteen thousand feet without his oxygen mask. He tried fifteen thousand feet and felt no ill effects. He climbed to sixteen thousand feet and felt fine. Still without his oxygen mask, he went to seventeen thousand feet. He flew at seventeen thousand feet for fifteen minutes or so and did not put on his oxygen mask. "These rules are made for other men, not me," he said to himself. "I've apparently got this altitude problem licked." He felt wonderful. He felt like the champion who had had many drinks and was sure that one more would be just right for him. He felt a bit like Superman.

That was the last he remembered. He woke up twenty-three days later in a hospital in the Kingdom of Swat. His plane had gone into a spin and crashed, breaking most of his bones and causing a brain concussion.

Altitude, like alcohol, sometimes gives a false sense of strength, power, and poise. One who is not aware of this phenomenon may walk the high ridges like a fool.

The hill people of the Himalayas are aware of the grosser aspects of mountain sickness. They have seen horses and mules drop dead from overexertion at high altitudes. They have seen the minor symptoms of sleeplessness and the loss of appetite, and the major ones where the body swells, the lips turn black, the head and heart ache, the throat becomes parched, and the temperature falls. They know that one who has suffered one major attack of mountain sickness seldom survives another.

My trek produced no major mountain illness, although someone in the party was slightly ill after each pass we crossed. But the risk is prominent in every native's mind. This is pass poison. Passes are unhealthy places. One never stops there long; he hurries over. The places are occupied by gods and goddesses, some of whom are evil. They produce the storms that fell man and beast and leave their bones to bleach on these high and un-

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tery to open the day at 5:30 A.M. and close it at 8 P.M. The monks of Hemis sometimes follow the example of their founder and go into retreats, taking vows to immure themselves for three years in barren, single-room houses that have no windows, no furnishings, no utilities. Here they sit in prayer and meditation for three long and lonely years. Those who complete the three-year vigil are held in high esteem by monks and laymen alike. Few, however, come out alive because of the rigors of the ordeal. Yet those who start do not turn back, for in the Buddhist world one who violates his vows degrades himself and is held in contempt by the community. Hemis, the first monastery in all of Ladakh, is still an ideal physical setting for a retreat; and over the centuries it has become rich not only in lands and other wealth, but in legends as well.

One of these apocryphal tales concerns Jesus. There are those who to this day believe that Jesus visited the place, that he came here when he was fourteen and left when he was twenty-eight, heading west, to be heard of no more. The legend fills in the details, saying that Jesus traveled to Hemis under the name of Issa.

This is a land where legends readily grow. Hindus and Buddhists are, of course, not alone in believing that holy men have made certain places sacred. But they have a special theory about the phenomenon. The presence of holy men and the prayers they have recited have created spiritual vibrations that dominate the place. Pilgrims who go there and stay at least three nights can feel these vibrations and thus enrich their psychic and spiritual life. Many places of pilgrimage are common to Hindus and Buddhists alike e.g., Mount Kailas and Lake Manasarovar in Tibet. These places usually have a presiding deity and many dozens of demigods. There are said to be about 500,000 deities around Mount Kailas alone. But only the pious can see them. These gods are mountain gods, river gods, tree gods, family gods, field gods, house gods. They are the gods and spirits of the ancient religions on which Buddhism became engrafted. They and Buddhism have

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today been mixed in a religion which Buddha himself would hardly recognize.

Buddha (Siddhartha Gautama), whose home was in Nepal, lived from about 560 B.C. to about 480 B.C. He designed a beautiful religion, a religion more intellectual than emotional, one that made wisdom its main faith and righteous conduct its code. Buddha taught the "Noble Eightfold Path": (1) right views; (2) right aspirations; (3) right speech; (4) right conduct; (5) right livelihood; (6) right effort; (7) right mindfulness; (8) right rapture. This philosophy demanded (1) freedom from superstition; (2) noble thoughts worthy of the intelligent man; (3) speech that is truthful and generous; (4) conduct that is honest and peaceful; (5) actions that bring no injury to any living thing; (6) self-control that subjects the passions to control by the mind; (7) a mental attitude of active watchfulness; (8) deep meditation on the principles of life.

Buddha's tenets were based on the notion that the cause of all suffering is desire and that desire results from ignorance. Buddha believed in life after death, or rebirth. The Hindu belief in rebirth preceded Buddha in India. Man does not die; his soul merely leaves his body and moves on to take possession of another body. One can, by his acts and mental attitudes, become reborn into a higher and nobler form; or he can debase himself and return to earth in a lowlier condition. He can, unaided, effect his own deliverance and gradually, in successive reappearances on this earth, attain the status of an Arhat or perfected man. This, briefly, is the doctrine of reincarnation. Every event is the result of prior causes and itself the cause of future events. What is done in this life shapes what happens in the next. One who lives a life of good works and good thoughts will move in the next life one step closer to Nirvana. But one who violates the teachings of the "Noble Eightfold Path" will in the next life move down the ladder; then he will have to start over and regain the ground he has lost in his struggle toward perfection.

000 I had come directly to the Officers' Club on our arrival. Rahul had tarried in the bazaar greeting old acquaintances. Now I saw him coming up the poplar-lined driveway of the club on his small Tibetan pony. Turning to a junior officer, I whispered, "Would it be all right if I introduced the General to a ghost?"

• 776 One does not speak lightly of ghosts in this land of mysticism where gods and goddesses, spirits and demons, deities and the 000 souls of the departed are everywhere. The face of the young officer was very serious, for the question troubled him. And not yet realizing the humor of my question, he replied quite formally, "I guess so, sir."

Rahul had met with an accident on one of the estuaries of the Indus River. After we had left Hemis en route to Leh, we picked up the Indus and followed it downstream several miles before leaving the river and turning north to Leh. At one point the Indus had inundated hundreds of acres of lowlands and left behind dozens of small lagoons, which we had to ford. Some of these passages were treacherous. The water was deep, there were unexpected holes, and the clay bottom was as sticky as glue. Rahul was riding an unusually small Tibetan pony, perhaps eight hands high. It was sturdy and fast, but it lacked the power and strength of the larger horses. I led the way across one small lagoon. Though the passage seemed safe enough, Rahul's horse either got stuck or stepped in a hole and foundered. In any event, the horse went over on its side and both he and Rahul disappeared for a second under the water.

They both came out without injury. Rahul was soaked through, and it took him several hours to get dry. He had about dried out when we arrived at Leh. The water which had soaked him was heavy with the milk of clay. So when Rahul got dry, he looked indeed like a ghost.

"May I present my ghost?" I asked as Rahul joined us at the Officers' Club. Rahul's warm brown eyes looked out from a calcimined face, the dark skin of his hands was powdered white,

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are real picnics, for *zan* and cooking-pots and wooden cups are all taken, also a little bit of food ready prepared in the pocket to eat when away up the hillside, where many a tale is told, and many a song is sung, echoing across the valley from one rocky perch to another. So the happy days of childhood pass, and in this land of primitive needs it is indeed difficult to get the children together for school. In the winter they get up so late, for fuel is scarce, dung has to be collected, and wood is so expensive, and bed is the warmest place till between 9 and 10 a.m. Summer is still worse, especially for the girls, as they must be off to the hills with the sheep and goats, so cannot be spared, and when they reach their teens plans for marriage are laid.

But why learn arithmetic when nature provides such a convenient counting-board as the knuckles. With the thumb as pointer, each finger has three joints, a total of thirty on which calculations can be made. Why measure time in years, when a contract may be worded as poetically and conclusively as follows :—" the bond to last till the crows turn white, and the glaciers melt." Where payment is made in kind, wages need not be calculated; thus your fields can be worked by giving the labourer part of the products. Only the gods must not be forgotten, for the first few handfuls of corn plucked must be tied to the pillars of the best room, and dedicated to the god of the brotherhood to which any given family belongs. For each family is linked up in such a brotherhood, the members of which are called *pa-spun* (man-brethren). These are originally relations, though outsiders may be sworn-in at a special feast, and all worship at a common altar, presided over by their special deity. This custom is said to be a remnant of the ancient worship before Buddhism came to the country, the gods sometimes having Hindu names. The altar is originally built as a platform of mud and stone, and on it is placed a clay pot, round which a wall is built. Into the pot are placed small offerings, such as grain, coral, pearl,

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CHAPTER XX

Demons, Dances & Dinners

IN this country in which practically all the religious ritual is of the old demon worship origin, one would expect to find belief in the possession of man by demons. The Ladaki at any rate does not doubt the reality of such possession, and one is inclined to think that in spite of much fraud, there is a substratum of fact in it. Discussing this matter with a colleague one day, he affirmed that he had once had a woman patient who "really was possessed by a devil," and, in reply to the query as to how he had treated her, he said that a good dose of castor oil had cured her! However, the reader shall judge for himself from the following experiences.

Some years ago we heard that in Marshro, a village situated a day's march from Leh, two brothers would become possessed by two very fierce demons, and my colleague and I decided to investigate the performance. Having arrived there, we were given a nice large room in the monastery, which proved somewhat too airy, as the time of year was mid-winter and one side of our apartment was completely open to the wintry air. However, by donning the rough native sheepskin coats, and ignoring their smell, we managed to make ourselves fairly comfortable, especially when we, with our servants, sat round a large pot of steaming Irish stew. As we enjoyed this warming and welcome dish, our table companions, waxing loquacious, told us of how these demons originally came from Central Tibet to reside in

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibet

787 Ladak, and how they were now the fiercest in the whole
● 776 country. They said that these special demons always take possession once a year of two men belonging to two definite Marshro families. Sometimes they are the same two men for a number of successive years, at others they vary. The afflatus always occurs during the first Buddhist month. Should the chosen candidate be a new one, he has to prepare himself from three to four months before, but otherwise one is sufficient. When the time has arrived these two men, generally, if not always, lamas, repair to a mountain retreat. Here they sit in a box, which is so made that they can neither lie down, nor assume any attitude other than that of sitting absolutely upright, and they are only allowed out for a very short space of time in the morning, afternoon and evening. They do not divest themselves of their clothes the whole time, and so cramped do they become that a rope is fixed above their heads by which to pull themselves up. During this month they are supplied with food from the neighbouring monastery of Marshro. Their duties consist in the reading of holy books, and the innumerable repetitions of *Om manis*. The month completed, a crowd of people ride up to their retreat to escort these *Lhapas*, god-men as they are now called, back to the monastery. There can be no doubt of their possession now, for whilst the ponies of all their companions get very tired on this journey, those of the *Lhapas* are absolutely fresh throughout. Our informants then tell us of how the *Lhapas* will on the morrow cut themselves with swords without drawing blood, will run about on giddy heights without falling, and will foretell the future.

796 Next day we took our seats on the balcony overlooking the monastery courtyard with great expectations of a really thrilling show. There was a large crowd present, and soon an ordinary lama's dance was performed below us. These in their demon-masks were shortly joined by the *Lhapas*,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

whether they would mind paying us a kind visit. They agreed and soon stood before us, dancing about from one leg to the other in a state of great excitement. My colleague then held out his purse and asked them to tell him how much money it contained. This excited them still more and they exclaimed, "You are trying us—we will not be tried—we will not answer." Then they turned to me, and, after a few flattering remarks as to my medical work for their country, which were meant to make me amenable, they asked me what I desired to know, to which I replied that I wished them to tell me the next question I would ask them, having beforehand told my colleague what this would be. This caused a fresh outburst of fury in which they departed from us in anger, and we from them in disgust at the fraud perpetrated on these credulous folk. It is difficult not to label the whole thing a big lie, for from Lahoul come the weirdest stories. Thus we have been told that here the *Lha* often inhabits the beam of a house. Wishing to have a walk, the beam is shouldered by men, who carry "him" up hill and down dale in the most extraordinary manner. If they essay to take the *Lha* in an undesired direction, the god shows his disapproval by becoming heavier. He eventually indicates the house in which he wishes to take up his residence by again becoming more ponderous. Generally this occurs near the habitation of some opulent Buddhist. At other times a still more ingenious method is resorted to in order to ascertain the wishes of the *Lha*. A mirror is carried in front of and facing the beam, and the reflections therein show the god's wishes to perfection. We were told that sometimes the *Lhapas*—these godmen—disagree, and have to have their disputes settled by the English Christian Commissioner. It is really rather strange that often the god takes possession of a man of the blacksmith caste, although he is despised, and yet the moment he becomes the habitation of the god, he is, of course, regarded with much respect.

171 the Bono-na festival (1). At the harvest festival in Western Tibet
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[113] 1. "The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-na Festival," Indian Antiquary, 1905, p. 93. To this should be added the observation that the Dard have apparently derived their philosophical outlook from the Buddhists.

[241] we are apparently dealing with a Dard custom. It was the Dards who introduced agriculture into Western Tibet. Since time immemorial the Tibetans have been nomads.

The Cosmology

173 The world consists of three realms: 1. sTan-lha, the upper realm of the gods, 2. Bar-btsan, the mighty middle realm, and 3. gYog-klu, the lower realm of the spirits (realm of the Naga).

173 176 1. STan-lha, the upper realm of the gods. This realm is situated in the sky above the clouds, but sometimes the tall mountain peaks seem to be included in it. It is ruled by a king who goes by the name aBum-khri-rgyal-po, "King of the hundred thousand thrones," or also sKyer-rdzon-snyan-po, "Eloquent one of the bright castle." This god was already identified with an Indic god in ancient times. Such contact between the Tibetan and Indic religions is explained by the fact that the ancient sacred region of Tibet, the area around the Manasarowar Lake, was sacred also to the Indians. In very ancient times the Indians had already undertaken pilgrimages to the source of the Ganges and of the streams of the Panjab, and these journeys led them into the region of this lake. The Indic god who was considered equal to the Tibetan king of the heavens is Indra, that is, the Indra of the ancient Vedic period, the god of spring, the conqueror of the giants and the demons. Indra's characteristics are found again not only in the Tibetan god of the heavens, but also in his son, King Kesar. The name by which Indra became familiar to the Tibetans, is Stakratu, Tibetan brGya-byin, dialectal rByab-zhin, "He who has brought one hundred offerings." And it is actually the case that the name brGya-byin is to be met with far more frequently in the documents of the pre-Buddhistic religion than the ancient Tibetan name of the same divinity. The wife of this king of the heavens is called aBum-khri-rgyal-mo, "Queen of the one hundred thousand thrones," or bKur-dman-ryyal-mo, "Queen, revered woman," and also A-ne-bkur-

[823] [788]

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dman-mo, "Spouse, revered woman." Many prayers in the Kesar saga are addressed to her in particular. She is apparently regarded as merciful and wise. /6/ This pair of heavenly monarchs had three sons, namely: 1. Don-yod, "having a purpose," 2. Don-idan, "having a purpose," and 3. Don-grab, "fulfilling his purpose." The latter name corresponds to the Indic Siddhartha, a name also applied to Buddha. The third son, Don-grub, surpasses his brothers both spiritually and physically. Later on he dies in heaven and is reborn on earth as King Kesar (Kyesar) of Glin.

The lord and lady of heaven already appear in the texts and in the songs as ethical deities who desire the good and demand obedience from man. In the Glin-glu of Phyi-dban the following hymn is to be found under No. 5:

It is possible to escape a rolling boulder on a steep slope;
Certainly, I can escape from a rolling boulder on a steep slope;
But it is not possible to get away from the commands of the "Great Father";
No, the commands of the "King of the hundred thousand thrones" I cannot escape.
It is possible to escape the great floods through a ford,
Certainly, I can get away from the mighty floods through a ford,
But it is not possible to get away from the commands of the "Great Mother."
No, the commands of the "Queen of the hundred thousand thrones" I cannot escape.

As was already mentioned, the characteristics of a weather god like the ancient Indra are more to be encountered in Kesar than in the "father god." This finds very clear expression in the ninth song of the Glin-glu of Khalatse:

High up on the Sa-ri-can Pass black clouds are fathering.
High up on the Sa-ri Pass ragged clouds are flying about.
In the midst of the black clouds flashes of lightning spark from the sword of our good prince.
In the midst of the black clouds flashes of lightning spark from the sword of the divine King Kesar.

According to the popular tradition, Kesar hurls his lightning bolts at a dragon shrouded in the cloud. The thunder is the wounded dragon's roar of pain. In this connection it should also be pointed

773 out, however, that according to hymn No. 1 of the Glin-glu of
776 Khalatse, thunder is explained as being caused by the running of the gods in heaven.

The life of the gods is an idealized form of human life. The gods constitute a state in which there are a king, subjects, and servants. (See Winter Myth, Vol. V, p. 11.) They live in bliss and they grow old as we can tell from a passage in the Spring Myth. There, in Vol. VII, 21, 45, 62, it says: "May he who drinks a beer of blessing live as long as the gods." The possibility of death seems to exist for the gods, if we may draw this conclusion from the fact of Don-grub's death in heaven. The gods pasture goats (lha-ra, divine goats) on earth, and these must be defended against the devil (bdud). (See Spring Myth, Vol. I.) These goats apparently represent rain clouds which the dragon (here the devil) wants to steal, quite in accord with the Indra myths. It should also be noted that in other places in the Kesar saga the clouds are compared with cows, as in India. (See, A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Tale of Kesar's Marriage," No. 5, Yak Ri-ri; "Defeat of the King of Hor," No. 2, Yak Kha-ra-kham-ba.) Of Yak Ri-ri it is told that he puts his head down on one mountain peak and his hind feet on another. But the similitude of the goats is carried out more consistently. In the Winter Myth, Vol. II, 17-29 we hear that Kesar finds in the realm of the devil a great many goats stolen from heaven.

The king of the gods, and likewise the queen, often change their shapes. Thus the king battling for the goats of heaven appears as a white bird (Spring Myth, Vol. I) or as a white yak (Lower /7/ Ladakhi Version, II, "Story of Kesar's Birth," 1). The queen of the gods frequently appears on earth in order to help her son Kesar. On these occasions she appears as a human woman (Spring Myth, Vol. IV, 8), as dzo (hybrid between a cow and a yak, Winter Myth, Vol. I, 53), as a turquoise-colored fly (Winter Myth, Vol. V, 35), and as a dove (Winter Myth, Vol. VIII, 16).

The king of heaven rides on a horse called lha-rta-nan-pa, "Cream-colored divine horse." On modern representations (in Changspa near Leh) it looks like a kiang. In the same place the queen of heaven is also represented. She is riding on a white lioness with turquoise-colored mane, the personification of the glacier. The upper garments of these gods are white, with many-colored hems; the under garments are colored (pictures in Changspa). According to Shel-li-bu-zhun (Paladins, Vol. III), the sun rises over the shoulders of the god of heaven.

1 [See Category 116, pp 1-8, for references -- Analyst]

The total number of gods (lha) is given as 360 in the narrative Shel-li-bu-zhun (Paladins, No. III), a number which is also to be found in the Bonpo works. In conclusion we should point out that occasionally a differentiation is made between dBan-po-brgya-byin, the ruler of the heavens, and sKyer-rdzon snyan-po, the "father of the gods" (pha-lha). The latter name is particularly used for the god of heaven as the father of Dun-grub-ke-sar. This usage seems subsequently to have led to the fact that different deities were understood by the two names.

2. Bar-btsan, the earth, literally, "the firm place in the middle." Other names are: Mi-yul, "land of human beings," Glin, "continent," "world." Later also, after the appearance of Indic concepts, aDzam-bu-glin, Sanskrit, Jambudvipa. The highest deity of the earth is Mother sKyabs-mdun, "helpful spouse." She seems to be identical with the goddess of the earth, brTan-ma, "the firm one" (Jäschke's Lexikon), or brTan-byed-ma (S. Ch. Das, Lexikon /Dictionary/). Father brTan-pa also occurs.

The world (glin) of mythology is, of course, Tibet. But if we look at the few place names that occur in the mythology and are identifiable, we are directed to the western part of the country, into the region of the great lakes. In the wedding songs, both great lakes, Ma-pham (Manasarowar) and La-nag, are frequently mentioned. The former of these two lakes is mentioned most frequently and the mountain Kailasa, which is near it, plays a not inferior role. In the Kesar saga and elsewhere, too, the mountain bears the name Ti-se (apparently a contraction of Khri-rtse, "throne peak"), or Gans-ri ("ice mountain"). Gans-ti-se also occurs. On top of the mountain, or close by it, stands Glin-mkhar-rtse-dgu, "the castle of Glin with the nine peaks." The silver mountain, the golden mountain, the blue mountain, and the slate mountain are in the closest proximity. This mountain range is thought of by the Tibetans as the point of origin for the four main rivers of the world (1), of which, in fact,

1. These four main rivers are also mentioned in No. X b. and in No. XVII of the wedding songs of Tag-ma-cig. There they are not mentioned individually by name, however. A similar saga is also to be found in the Ramayana, I, 44, "the descent of the Ganga." In that place not four but seven rivers are mentioned.

they enumerate the following in inscriptions and in their chronicle: 1. the Indus, which flows to the west, Sen-ge-kha-bab, or "lion

the idea of the wreckage of an earlier world that has perished is probably to be thought of. 773 772

Gog-bzan-lha-mo, as well as upon the mother animals and treasures, and all begin to give birth.

According to the Dard version, which can be pursued from mDa all the way to Shel east of Leh, the earth rose up out of the world ocean and was then sown with seeds. Here we are dealing with trees and with types of grain (3).

3. This so-called Dard version probably came early to the Dard together with Buddhism. This saga is to be found in the Kandschur, La Vol. 26 of the mDo class. (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII, Csoma de Koros.) [113]

The contrast between Tibetan and Dard could not be expressed more clearly than is done in the myths about the origin of the world. The Tibetan as a nomad and a hunter speaks only of the animal world. The Dard, as an industrious tiller of the soil, speaks only of the plant world. On the other hand, neither tells of the first appearance of man. The "Prelude to the Kesar Saga" begins immediately with a "primitive father" and a "primitive mother," and these are assumed to have as independent an existence as the gods, the earth mother, and the Nagas.

Since the primitive animals play such an important part in the mythology, occupying a place next to the sun and the moon, yes, even at the side of the gods, the most important of them will be enumerated here: Of Gog-bzan-lha-mo are born: sun and moon high up in the sky; Sen-ge-dkar-mo-gYu-ral-can, "the white lioness with the turquoise mane /literally: locks/," the personification of the glacier, the riding animal of the queen of heaven; on the high mountain, Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "the wild king of the birds," on the high cliff (according to another version Skyin-chen-ba-rgan, "the big old ibex" is born there): rKyan-byun-kha-dkar, "White mouth, originating from the kiang," a horse of the steppes; Nya-mo-gser-mig, "fish golden eye," in the middle of the sea; aBron-byun-rog-po, "the evil one stemming from the wild yak," a yak, on the meadow; a few other animals, among them three frogs, a golden one, a blue one, and a white one, have become the best known. 776 773

Among the mother animals that have been taken from the ruined castle, the most famous ones are: Thsa-ldan, a mare; Khyi-mo-dkar-

mo, the white bitch; Gro-mo, a mother sheep; Thse-thse-nan-dmar, a goat. Of the animals which the mother animals give birth to after the fructifying hailstorm, I shall mention only one that is particularly famous, namely, rKyan-byun-(db)yer-pa, "piebald horse, originating from the kiang," a horse which became Kesar's property.

/9/ Finally, the various types of plants which, according to the Dard versions, were given to the earth, should also be mentioned. Among the trees there arose the sandalwood (made known only by the Indians); the juniper (shug-pa); the birch (sTag-pa); the mountain willow (glan-ma); and the tamarisk (Om-bu). Nine types of grain were enumerated, namely, Yan-ma, ordinary barley; So-ba, coarse-grained barley; Shi-rog, early barley; Gro, wheat; Bra-bo, buckwheat; Kyer-ge, millet; sran-ma, the bean; nag-sran, the pea; Yuns-dkar, mustard. Now here there is a peculiar thing: The Tibetans in their beer songs speak about the origin of beer from barley. But when the question about the origin of barley as well as of the other types of grain comes up, they speak of the hunt. The primitive father caught all kinds of birds, and when he had caught the dove in the net, there were seven (not nine) different seed kernels in its stomach, from which all types of grain originated.

The land of Glin also possesses five types of gems which, according to the gZer-myig, are heaped up inside the mountain and are guarded by giants who stand outside, as well as dwarfs who live inside the mountain. According to the Kesar saga (manuscript of Gau-Phun-thsoys) these are the following kinds: gold, silver, turquoise, coral, and pearl or shell.

With respect to the goddess of the earth it should also be mentioned that as an active deity she recedes even more into the background than the rulers of the heavens do. Just as the role of the king of heaven has been transferred to Don-grub -Kesar, so that of the mother sKyabs-mdun has been transferred to Kesar's wife aBru-gu-ma. Although the Tibetan sagas offer no evidence for this, as far as I know to this date, I nevertheless believe it legitimate to assume that the original state of the mythology was as follows: The king of heaven wooed mother sKyabs-mdun, the earth, but (in winter) he lost this bride of his to the lord of the water spirits. Instead of this development we now find the same thing in the second generation: Kesar woos aBru-gu-ma, but again loses his wife to King "White Tent" (the king of the water spirits in the form of snow). aBru-gu-ma's origin from the earth deities is made probable by the fact that she is occasionally called the daughter of Father brTan-pa, and he, after all, is a divinity of the earth, as has

already been said. aBru-gu-ma's character as an earth deity appears particularly clearly, however, when she receives her punishment for having finally surrendered to King White Tent." In this connection it is told, among other things: "For punishment lucernes were sown on her head and her head was plowed under with dzo oxen" (2). Unfortunately, the name aBru-gu-ma is not as transparent as many others. Perhaps, however, it is connected with abru, "seed kernel."

2. A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Defeat of the King of Hor," No. 9.

Pictorial representations of the earth deity have not yet come to light. However, we read in the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, VII, 19-22), that she rides a horse called bTsan-rta-dmar-chun, "Little red earth horse." aBru-gu-ma is praised for her milk-white complexion. (3) Through her passing into the realm of the heavenly deities she has come to partake of their color. Of mother sKyabs-mdun we read that she is seen by someone in a dream and appears to him as though a snake were wound around her body (Shel-li-bu-zhun, Paladins, III). But later it is explained that the apparent snake symbolizes the hook-shaped land of Glin.

3. Glin-glu of Phyi-dban, No. 4.

Through its high mountain peaks, on which the gods lived just as much as in heaven, Bar-btsan, the middle realm, touches the realm of the gods. The fact that there are also large lakes in the middle realm, connects it with the realm of the elves or Naga (Tibetan, Klu).

/10/ 3. Yog-klu, the realm of the water spirits, (Tibetan, Klu, Indic, Naga, English, "nymphs"). This realm is to be found in all the rivers and lakes and also below the earth, since the Tibetans believe that subterranean connections exist between the visible waters. The word Yog-klu signifies "the lower nymphs." Just like sTan-lha, Yog-klu is also a state. There a king rules over many servants and subjects who also distinguish themselves by their many children. (See Winter Myth, V. 17.)[1] The name of the king is written in my manuscripts, in accordance with the pronunciation, mostly lJogs-po, a word which is not to be found in the dictionaries. In the dictionaries, aJog-po is given as the name of a Naga king, but even aJog-po does not make any proper sense. The most probable thing is that lJogs-po is a dialectical variant of lCogs-po, which, according to

[1] [See ... 116, pp1- & ... references, --Analyst]

776 Maschke, means "low." The name could therefore well mean "the
773 lower one." (Compare lji-ba and lci-ba, "heavy.") The Klu-mo or female nymphs are famous for their beauty and Kesar is therefore warned not to fall in love with them. In No. 7 of the Glin-glu of Kalatse, aBru-gu-ma to Kesar:

Oh my wise king!
When you now descend into the land of the water spirits
And see all the nymphs of that land,
Then forget not your helpmeet in the land of man.

[301] The Ladakhi women want to equal the nymphs in beauty and
[332] therefore they wear on their head broad leather strips covered with turquoises, which fall from their heads down below the middle of their backs. This leather strip, called te-rag, is supposed to represent a snake growing out of the human back. This, according to the rules of ancient Indic art, is the characteristic feature of the
[784] Nagas. To this realm of the waters belongs everything that lives and moves in water. It therefore includes fish, frogs, and quite especially water snakes. Since all these creatures can assume human form, even if only with the insignia mentioned, the Tibetans may not eat any of them. The nymphs are supposed to distinguish themselves not only by multitudinous propagation (consider the many fish eggs), but also by a high degree of wisdom. When Kesar's letter arrives in Glin, in which he announces his return from the north country, a nymph is the only creature who can read the writing (1).

1. Lower Ladakhi Version, "Capture of aBru-gu-ma," No. 7.

With respect to King lJogs-po, it should also be mentioned that according to song No. VIIb of the Wedding Songs of Kalatse, he is identical with the famous Ma-dros-zil-chen (Avavatapta, "Not-hot"). In this way we are told his dwelling place at the same time. It is the above-named Manasarowar Lake, the lake Ma-dros. In the chronicle of Ladakh we read in the report of King Khri-sron-lde-btsan that this human king, or his friend, Padmasumbhava, got the king of the nymphs to come up to the surface of the Manasarowar Lake by holding a thunder mace (vajra) in the water of the lake. The
776 nymph who was able to read (mentioned above) had been brought
773 out of her element only because someone had thrown poison into
951 the water. The king of the nymphs had to promise the king of mankind never to let leprosy come again among

[See pp. 1-8, Category 116 for references--Analyst]

human beings. This disease is called Klu-nad among the Tibetans, and among the Indians Nagaroga (a disease caused by the nymphs). The disease is ascribed to the nymphs because leprosy at first looks like snow. The passage cited from the chronicle of Ladakh seems to indicate that instead of one prince of Nagas, they conceived of two who lived in the Manasarowar Lake. This duality may be derived from the Indians. /11/ The Tibetans seem to have severed the adjective Zil-chen, "the radiant," from the name Ma-dros-zil-chen, and to have created a new divinity with it.

In the case of this king of the Nagas, Ma-dros or lJogs-po, it should also be mentioned that he recedes into the background as an active deity as much as does the king of heaven and the goddess of the earth. He no longer goes out to rape the earth goddess. Rather, he has left this to younger persons, in particular to the king of Hor (Mongolia and Turkestan, countries to the north of Western Tibet). Winter is the time when the water masses, in the form of ice and snow, put the earth in their bondage, and winter's power penetrates from the north. In the Kesar saga we read that Kesar after his wedding goes off to the north in order to do battle against the Giant of the North, and that during this time King Gur-dkar (that is, "White Tent") of Hor rapes aBru-gu-ma. For many passages of the Kesar saga it appears that the Naga king was a divinity for human beings, and that, even though a third-class divinity, he received the same hommage accorded the god of heaven and the goddess of earth. From this ethically impeccable figure, however, there soon developed a new figure which embodied the evil principle. We shall speak later of this "devil" bDud.

Ancient representations of the Tibetan Klu, in particular of the king, have not yet been found. From the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, VII, 27-30)[1] we see that King lJogs-po rides a horse called Klu-rta-snon-chun, "little blue nymph horse." In the dream song (Shel-li-bu-zhun, Paladins, III)[1] we read that the king carries something in his mouth which at first glance looks like a black sheep. Later it turns out that the presumed sheep is actually a lotus flower.

The Colors of the Three Realms. The most original color system is apparently to be found in a version of the Kesar saga of the village of Sheh (Shel) as it is written down in the Spring and Winter Myths. There we frequently hear of three altars erected in honor of the deities of the realms of the world, which have white, red, and blue for their colors (1). According to this system, sTan-lha, the realm

1. Spring Myth, IV, 20-26; VII, 22, 30; IX, 1.

[See cat 116, pp. 1-8 for references. -- Ana/yst]

The Divinities of the Four Points of the Compass

Particularly in the wedding songs we find that the deities of the four points of the compass play an important role. Yet even on other occasions they sometimes become prominent. In some songs we find the Lokapalas, just as they are familiar to us from India even though they appear under Tibetan names. This is not to be wondered at if we remind ourselves that, after all, even Indra had been accepted by the Tibetans. We must try, with the aid of the songs, to become acquainted with the original songs of the Tibetans dealing with this matter. First of all, we should recall the songs that celebrate the points of the compass as bestowers of great gifts. In wedding songs X and XIII[1] it is stated that the East gives us the sun, but also the moon and the stars. The South provides grain and, with it, great wealth, even gold. From the West come the medicines, astronomy flourishes there too--because of the use of the Chinese diagrams, and also the art of prophecy. The North is praised for the gifts of the colors and of salt. Kesar's war (No. X)[2] is also supposed to take place there.

In the preceding pages something has already been said about color. A color system was now connected with the points of the compass, in such a way, in fact, that birds as well as eggs of a certain color were accommodated there. In wedding songs Nos. XV, XXXIX, and XLI,[1] we read that in the East a white bird and a white egg are to be found. In No. XV[2] the bird of the East is designated as Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "wild king of the birds." In the South lives a yellow bird, and a golden egg is also to be found there. The bird of the West is red, and the egg which exists there is called coral-red. The bird of the North is sometimes black, sometimes of a turquoise blue color. Sometimes it is a raven and sometimes a peacock. The egg is turquoise blue or iron black.

In wedding song No. XXXIX[2] we are now also introduced to persons, perhaps deities of a sort, who live in the various points of the compass. In the East, Sa-gon-bdag-po, the "owner of the earth," the king; probably Kesar as ruler of the earth. In the South, it is mThsan-ldan-bla-ma, "famous priest," an unknown figure; in the West, U-rgyan-padma-Padmasambhava, and in the North, mGar-mkhan-A-nag, the smith a-nag, and aBrug-u-ma, probably his daughter. If this system is not completely original, the one in song No. XXXVIII[2] is even less so. Here the points of the compass

[1] [See pp. 1–9, Cat. 116 for references -- Analyst]

776 821 are occupied in the following way: the East: Shakya-thub-pa, Buddha; South: aJam-dpal, Manjusir; the West: mKyen-rab, the founder of the Bon religion; the North: rGyal-rjes-dkar-po, the great white king, perhaps a variant of Gur-dkar, King "White Tent" (snow).

821 823 Now it is very peculiar that the Tibetans, when they related real regions to the points of the compass, created a great deal of confusion. This came about because they established the gifts of the points of the compass first. When these gifts were established, they suddenly hit upon the idea of looking around for earthly countries which supplied such gifts in particular.

In wedding song No. X the East is brought into relation with India. This is to be explained in the following manner: The gift of the east is, above all, the sun. But Kesar too belongs to the East, and also Buddha (No. XXXVIII). Buddha came from India. Therefore India is placed in the East. The South supplies /13/ grain, and in so doing it leads to riches. At the time of the composition of the songs, Persia was known as the richest country. Consequently, Persia was connected with the South. The West was considered the realm of medicine; the spirits of medicine, called sMan, lived there. But all medicine men also busied themselves with astrology and prophecy, especially from the Chinese diagrams. Since the Chinese surpassed all their neighbors in these arts, China was connected with the West. The situation is probably most favorable in the North. Besides the colors, salt is supposed to be found in the North, and salt actually can be found in large quantities in the north Tibetan lake areas, Byan-than. These areas are also assigned to the North in the song (compare Ladakhi Songs, No. 15). By the land of "Kesar's war" in the North we are to understand in particular Hor or Turkestan.

776 821 We now come to the names of the Indian Lokapala, which have penetrated into some wedding songs. In wedding song No. IX they are enumerated in the following way:

1. Yul-akhor-srun (Dhritarashta) . . . . . East
2. aPhags-skyed-po (Virudhaka) . . . . . South
3. sPyan-mig-bzan (Virupaksha) . . . . . West
4. rNam-thos-sras (Vaisravana or Kubera) . . . North

In wedding songs No. II of Khalatse and No. XLII of Tag-ma-cig, however, four names of deities are given, which correspond completely to the Dhyanibuddhas of the Tantric school (according to De la Vallee Poussin). But here they have no relation to Dhyani or contemplation. Rather, they appear quite actually as kings of the four

1 [See PRI-8, category 116 for references--Analyst]

points of the compass. Their names are the following: 776

1. rDo-rje-sems-dpa (Vajrasatva) . . . . . East 821
2. Rin-chen-byun-ldan (Ratnasambhava) . . . South
3. sNan-ba-mtha-yas (Amitabha) . . . . . West
4. Don-yod-grub-pa (Amoghasiddha) . . . . North.

Even the Indian Lokapala have connections with certain colors, 821
and it is now of some importance to establish how the Indic system 822
is related to the color system of the wedding songs, as it has been 171
described so far. In order to clarify the situation, I shall recapitulate the latter:

1. East . . . . . white.
2. South . . . . . yellow (gold).
3. West . . . . . red (once, No. XV, turquoise).
4. North . . . . . black (or blue).

The Indic Lokapalas are represented in Lamaism with the following skin colors:

1. Dhritarashta . . . . East . . . . . white.
2. Virudhaka . . . . . South . . . . . blue.
3. Virupaksha . . . . . West . . . . . red.
4. Vaisravana (Kubera). North . . . . . yellowish gold.

We see that, except for white in the East, and red in the West, the two systems have no connection with each other. The Indic Lokapalas constitute an extrinsic element in the field of the popular religion of the Tibetans.

/14/ Things have advanced a little further, on the other hand, in 776
the case of the Dhyanibuddhas. In wedding song No. XLII[1] these have 821
been related to colors, and in this case it appears that the ancient 822
Tibetan system has penetrated almost in its entirety. In this song the following colors are named:

1. rDo-rje-sems-dpa . . . East . . . . white.
2. Rin-chen-byun-ldan . . South . . . yellow.
3. sNan-ba-mtha-yas . . . West . . . . blue.
4. Don-yod-grub-pa . . . North . . . . black.

To summarize, we may say that it appears from these old songs that the Tibetans had deities for the four points of the compass; further, that they first conceived of them in the form of birds and later apparently in human shape, and associated them with certain colors, originally, probably, white, yellow, red, and blue. In later times the names of Indic deities belonging to the points of the compass penetrated into the Tibetan system.

1 [See pp. 1-8, category 116 for references --Analyst]

feathers and of the eggs corresponded. Where do we find red birds laying red eggs, /15/ or yellow birds laying yellow eggs? And while in song No. XLI[1] nature was easily ignored, and they placed a yellow bird on a yellow egg (No. XXXIX[1]) in the South, in the West a red bird on a red egg, and so forth, they were more cautious in the case of song No. VIIb.[1] They accepted the color of the egg given in the song as binding, and then proceeded to look around in nature for birds that lay eggs of this particular color. They happened to know that the snow pheasant, which, after all, is of a pure white color, lays coral-red eggs, and therefore they placed it on the red egg of the branch concerned. To the white falcon is attributed an iron-colored egg, because its egg is supposed to resemble iron in nature, and so forth. The golden egg in this song is accorded to the bird Khyun, the sun bird, because the sun appears golden in color. However, it remains uncertain on which of the branches of the world tree we should place it, since it is impossible to determine which of the branches is to be considered the "first." 773 822

We can see from the songs about the tree of the world that in the thoughts of the ancient Tibetans there was a connection between the deities of the three worlds which lay on top of one another, and those of the four regions of heaven. They celebrated these gods in song not only in special groups consisting of the first three or the latter four, but they also composed songs in which all seven were celebrated together. Such a song is No. 1 of the wedding songs of Khalatse.[1] This song deals with an offering of incense. The smoke, it is said, rises upward, spreads out over the earth, sinks down, and moves to the four points of the compass in order to allay the anger of all these deities. 773 776 [782]

So long as the highest of the water spirits was still considered a beneficent deity, there were seven divinities who were invoked together in such songs. But as we have already said, the prince of the nymphs was excluded from the circle of the other gods as the devil. In this way the group of the six chief deities came into being, and we encounter this group in the Tag-ma-cig wedding song, No. X,[1] in which the blessings of the six places, heaven, earth, and the four points of the compass, are enumerated. It is peculiar that as the blessing of heaven rain is named in particular.

Here we notice the similarity with ancient Chinese mythology as it is reported in the Schu-king II, I, 6, "Emperor Schun brought a special offering, but employing the usual forms, to Schang-ti. He brought his offering to the six honorable ones (heaven, earth, and the four points of the compass). As was proper, he made an offering

1 [See pp 1-9, category 116, for references -- Analyst]

776 to the mountains and the rivers and extended his worship to the one
773 hundred spirits." A corresponding passage is to be found also in the book of rites, Li-chi, where it says: "The son of heaven made an offering to heaven and earth, the four points of the compass, the mountains and the rivers, to the land and to the grain; he also brought the five domestic offerings." We see that among the Chinese the six "honorable ones" precede, but that they can be followed by some lesser deities. The latter is also the case among the Tibetans, and in the song just mentioned about incense offerings, wedding song, No. I, after the seven main deities there come the following lesser ones: the god of the mountain peak, the god of the village, and the god of the household. In a similar manner, other songs also descend from sublime deities till they finally arrive at the members of the family.

171 In this arrangement, which corresponds among the Tibetans and
773 the Chinese, I believe I can recognize a sign of mythological relationship between these two peoples. It is true that the "three worlds" and the "four kings of the earth" are also to be found among many other peoples, from the Babylonians to the Indians. But only the Tibetans and the Chinese make these two groups into "highest divinities." It is of especial value to us that from this combination the world tree of Tibetan mythology with its six branches, can be explained.

/16/ The Devil bDud

773 Occasionally a fourth universal realm is added to the three
776 great realms of the world, sTan-lha, Bar-btsan, and Yog-klu, that is, the realm of the devil bDud. The color of the devil's realm is black according to the Sheh (Shel) version, and brownish-violet (smug-po) according to the Lower Ladakhi Version (1). In the

1. Lower Ladakhi Version, "Defeat of the king of Hor," No. 6.[1]

Winter Myth, II, 21-26,[2] we read that Kesar on his journey found on four mountain passes four altars, which had been erected to the divinities of the three universal realms and to the devil and were white, red, blue, and black in color. Kesar worshipped at the three first altars by offering on them white, red, and blue material.

[1 [See pA1-5 Category 16, for references --Analyst]]

The fourth altar, however, the devil's black altar, he destroyed completely, leaving not a trace of it behind. Looking at a passage like this, one might be led to the belief that the ancient Tibetans knew, side by side with the three realms of the world just described, a fourth, self-contained realm, that belonging to the devil. Since the devil is frequently designated by the modifier sdig-can, "sinful," we would here be dealing with an ethically condemned personality, while the deities of the other three realms are worthy of human worship.

However, several observations lead me to the belief that the figure of the devil has developed from the deities of the water world and of winter, which stand in opposition to the bright gods of heaven. Thus, the word bdud, "devil," serves to designate various beings in Tibetan mythology. The etymology of this name is not simple. It seems to me that bdud represents a denominative formation from dud, "smoke, and soot." Bdud could then mean "the sooty one," "the black one." This would correspond with his appearance in certain versions of the Kesar saga. Even though bdud is constantly translated by the Indic words mara and Kama, nevertheless it does not seem to me that we have here a case of translation from the Indic. The devil bdud was found fully developed by the Indians in Tibet. In the Kesar saga, the devil bird is designated by the name bdud. This bird goes out to steal the goats of heaven (Spring Myth, I); furthermore, the king of the North country, King White Tent (gur-dkar), who abducts Kesar's wife; and finally, the Giant of the North (Cu-ru-lu-gu), who keeps the Bam-za-abum-skyid imprisoned in a cage (Winter Myth, III). All these are surely forms of the powers of the water and of winter, and it is this circumstance which leads up to the conclusion that in their case the origin of the notion of the devil is to be sought among the Tibetans.

The realm of the devil is designated quite particularly as the castle of the Giant of the North, Cu-ru-lu-gu (Winter Myth, III, IV). The fount of nectar and milk is to be found there (IV, 17).[1] The word for nectar in Tibetan points directly to the devil bdud, for nectar is called bdud-rtsi, "devil's juice." Perhaps the food and drink of forgetfulness, which according to IV, 1,[1] are found there, are also connected with the well of nectar. According to the narrative Mon-gces-pa (Paladins), the land of the devil is also populated by poisonous snakes, which might point to Yog-klu, the realm of the nymphs. In view of his size, his hunger, and his stupidity, the devil Cu-ru-lu-gu is particularly reminiscent of the giants of the German world of saga and mythology, and thus at the

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116 for references--Analyst]

773 same time of the "stupid devil" of Europe.
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/17/ The Seven and the Eighteen Agus

773 Aside from Kesar, the eighteen or seven Agus, so-called, are
805 the greatest heroes of the Kesar saga. Kesar is the leader of these
776 heroes, and together with him they form a group of nineteen beings whom I am inclined to regard as personifications of an old calendar. The days of the week seem to have found their embodiment here, and perhaps the months, insofar as a connection exists between them and the constellations of the zodiac.

773 About the origins of the Agus we read in the Lower Ladakhi Ver-
776 sion of the Kesar saga (Lower Ladakhi Version, I, "Prologue to the Kesar Saga"):[1] The forefather bKra-shis, together with his wife, seeded a field on which only a single tree was growing. From its fruits worms arose that ate one another until at the end only a single giant worm was left. This worm turned into a beautiful child, for whom eighteen brides were sought. All the brides became pregnant as soon as they looked at the child, and from them the eighteen Agus were born.

196 The word A-gu is the dialectal form of the Tibetan word A-khu,
[587] which means "uncle," "father's brother," but which in Western
773 Tibet can also mean "husband." The last-named meaning may be
776 connected with the fact that the brothers of the master of the house have a claim upon the master's wife. Moreover, it should be remembered that among the Dard of mDa, the word Mum-mo, which also means "uncle," is used, in their old songs, in the sense of "forebears." Some of this last meaning may also have penetrated into the Tibetan word A-gu.

773 The order of the eighteen Agus is given as follows in the para-
776 graph of the Kesar saga (Prologue):

1. Pasan-ldan-ru-skyes, with a goat's head.
2. An-gar-rtsans-po, with a lizard's head.
3. Khrai-mgo-khrai-thun, with a hawk's head.
4. Kha-rgan-ga-ni, with a white beard.
5. sKya-ba-rgod-po, with a ladle for a head,
6. Zla-ba-bzan-po, with a moon for a head.
7. mDa-dpon-gon-ma, with an arrow tip fro a head.
8. A-la-jon-gol, with a boot sole for a head.
9. aBu-dmar-lam-btan, with an insect's head.
10. Shel-gyi-bu-zhun, with a mirror for a head.

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116, for references--Analyst]

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11. Ga-nigon-ba, with a collar for a head.
12. Lag-lag-rins, with a hand for a head (1).

1. Or Khu[illegible]a-lag-rins.

13. rKan-rkan-rins, with a leg for a head.
14. Bon-nag-ldum-bu, with an ass's head.
15. bKa-blon-ldan-pa, with a hum head.
16. dPal-le-rgod-po, with an old man's head.
17. rNa-gYu-rna-athsal, with a turquoise for a head.
18. Zla-ba-dkar-po, with a white shell for a head.

The group of the seven Agus is likewise to be found in A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Defeat of the King of Hor," No. 7. Here the following names are mentioned:

/18/ 1. dPal-le, cf. No. 16 of the previous series.
2. Ga-ni, cf. No. 11 of the previous series.
3. Gon-ma-bu-thsa.
4. lTa-ba-mig-gi-rab, the sharp-sighted.
5. rNa-gYu-rna-athsal, the sharp hearer, compare No. 17 of the previous series.
6. mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the able marksman, compare No. 7 of the previous series
7. dPal-moi-a-stag, the female Agu.

A somewhat different series of the seven Agus is to be found in Paladins, No. II, "Tale of sKya-ba-rgod-po.[1] Here the following names are given:

1. dPal-le-rgod-po.
2. Khrai-mgo-khrai-thun.
3. An-gar-ltsans-pa.
4. Mi-yul-la-med-pai-grod-pa-che, the heavy eater.
5. Lag-lag-rins, long hand.
6. rKan-rkan-rins, speedy runner.
7. sKya-ba-dkar-po.

In the group of the seven Agus there are always some Agus to be found who distinguish themselves by special faculties of the senses and the limbs. Their deeds are reminiscent of the deeds of European fairy-tale heroes, such as we find, for instance, in "Six Go Through the Entire World." Each group of the seven Agus contains three such artists, both together therefore six; there is, the sharp-eyed one, the sharp heater, the good marksman, the heavy eater, the speedy runner, and the man with the long hand. All these work for the benefit of a seventh, who is their king. Perhaps we have in these Agus,

[1] [See pp. 1-8, Category 116, for references --Analyst]

776 distinguished by their special faculties, with their leader, the
773 original group of the seven before us. Although most of the Agus from the group of seven are to be found again in the group of eighteen, there are nevertheless some who only appear in the group of seven. Such Agus are: Gon-ma-bu-thsa, lTa-ba-mig-gi-rab, dPal-moi-a-stag, Mi-yul-la-med-pai-grod-pa-che, sKha-ba-dkar-po. In the Kesar saga (Spring Myth, III, 25-45), we become acquainted with one Agu, Za, "eater," who may possibly be connected with the heavy eater among the Agus in the group of seven. So much, however, is certain, that the number of Agus, if we were to count up all the figures that we encounter here and there in sags and poems, would rise far above eighteen. I explain this from the fact that each village established its own Kesar saga. Each village may thus also have prepared its own list of the eighteen Agus. As the villages communicated with one another they exchanged names of the Agus, and in this way the present order was brought into the various systems. However the series of Agus may be composed, there seems always to be a traitor among them. Thus, Khrai-mgo-khrai-thun appears as traitor in abducting aBru-gu-ma, as well as in the death of her protector, aBu-dmar-lam-batan. (See A Lower Ledakhi Version, "Capture of aBru-gu-ma.") Quite in accordance with this is the behavior of the same Agus during Kesar's expedition to China. (See A Lower Ladakhi Version.)

773 As has already been mentioned, a heroine is to be found in the
805 group of the seven Agus, dPal-moi-a-stag. This brings me to the
776 question as to whether we may be permitted to see embodiment of
821 the days of the week in the Agus. The Tibetan's week is the same as ours, that is, the system of the seven days named after the old planets, which probably originated from Babylonia and on its way through India came to the Tibetans too. Preceding the names of the days of the week is the word gZa, /19/ meaning "plantet." However, it must be said that the names of these planets are so unclear etymologically that they can be explained only with great difficulty. The names of the days of the week are:

gZa-nyi-ma, Sunday (nyi-ma, "sun).
gZa-zla-ba, Monday (zla-ba, "moon").
gZa-mig-dmar, Tuesday (mig-dmar, "red eye").
gZa-lhag-pa, Wednesday (lhag-pa, "provided with a hand").
gZa-phur-bu, Thursday (phur-bu, "thunderbolt").
gZa-pa-sans, Friday (pa-sans? sans, "pure").
gZa-spen-pa, Saturday (dpen-pa, "beautiful, charming").

[See P9.1-8 -- Analyst]

The following Agus might have a connection with the days of the week: Shel-gyi-bu-zhun, or gSer-gyi-bu-zhun, the "crystal" or "mirror" or "gold son," the son of Kesar, for Sunday; Zla-ba-bzan-po, "good moon," or Zla-ba-dkar-po, "white moon," for Monday; for Tuesday we must go to a being which so far has not been designated as an Agu. This is the Bya-so-mig-dmar, "bat, red eye," a bird (that is, star), which is named as the younger brother of the sun bird (see Lower Ladakhi Version, "Prologue").[1] Among the Agus it is approached most closely by aBu-dmar-lam-bstan, "red worm, road sign," which is designated as a younger brother of King Kesar. With respect to Wednesday, it is to be remarked that the spelling lhag-pa is perhaps incorrect, and for the following reason: In the pictures by which the days of the week are designated in the calendar, Wednesday is always indicated by a hand. Now, "hand," is not called lhag-pa, but lag-pa. I believe that, from the word lag-pa, "hand," first of all the word slag-pa, meaning "provided with a hand," was formed; slag-pa and lhag-pa are, however pronounced identically. Lhag-pa should therefore mean "the one who is provided with a hand," and since Agu Lag-lag-rins is provided with a hand on his head, he might appear as the representative of Wednesday. Thursday has the phur-bu or vajra as a sign. In this place, therefore, a hero of the type of Jupiter would fit. Now, a thunderbolt hero is not to be found among the Agus, apparently for the reason that this weapon became known to the Tibetans only through the Indians. As the lexicon tells us, the word phur-bu signifies, first of all, any pointed iron, therefore also an arrowhead. It is therefore not impossible that in mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the "highest arrow master," we have the Agu of Thursday before us, especially since he has an arrowhead for a head (1). The

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1. Perhaps, however, Kesar himself should be inserted under Thursday, as a fighter against the dragon of the clouds. The "arrow master" as "archer" should probably be assigned to the zodiac.

Agu of Friday is immediately recognizable by his name. He is Pa-sans-ldan-ru-skyes, "owner of (the planet) Venus, growing horns." By these horns are meant the phases of Venus which the Tibetans were able to see just as clearly as the Babylonians. It is impossible to determine from the name whether the Agu was male or female. Perhaps in order to emphasize the feminine nature of this planet, the female Agu dPal-moi-a-stag, "(A-stag?) the glorious one," was created. She is famous as a fierce warrior with the spear. To this

[1] [See cat. 116, pp1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

773 it should be added at once that the ancient Tibetans seem to have
● 776 been acquainted with the profession of battle maidens as much as
805 the ancient Germanic tribes. In wedding song No. XLIII,[1] in which
821 the guests have cups of different colors set before them according to their rank, there appear after the lama, the king, and the ministers, first of all the sTag-shar, the tiger heroes, then the sTag-dman, the tiger virgins, and finally the Na-chun, the ordinary virgins. The sTag-shar and the sTag-dman drink from golden cups, the ordinary virgins, on the other hand, drink from red cups. With respect to Saturday, I must /20/ confess that so far it seems to me impossible to connect an Agu with the Tibetan planet of this day.

773 Now as far as the relationship of the Agus to an ancient zodiac
776 is concerned, I would say that it is particularly the external appear-
805 ance of the Agus that makes their origin from a zodiac seem possi-
171 ble. The Agus are described as creatures of human shape, some of whom are provided with animal heads. In this connection, however, it should be said at once that the animals in the signs of the zodiac in use today in China as well as in Tibet, are the very ones that cannot be found among the animal heads of the Agus. It is well-known, however, that the zodiac in use today was not introduced into either country until historical times (before the seventh or eighth century). The zodiac symbolized in the Agus, on the other hand, may have originated in the prehistoric period of the two peoples.

The zodiac known today in China and Tibet has the following twelve animal signs: rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, goat, ape, hen, dog, and pig. The zodiac is used in the calendar to designate the years. The Tibetans report that this calendar was brought to them by the Chinese in the seventh century. It must therefore have been introduced into China somewhat earlier. The same animal names were then also used to designate the different months. As the excavations in Turkestan indicate, the Tibetans of the eighth century divided the year into twelve months, with three of the months constituting a season of the year. At that time they spoke of the second and the third spring month, and so forth. Each month, at that time, was reckoned at thirty days. I suspect this because the number 360 plays such an important role with the gods, the nymphs, and similar beings.

Although it is as yet impossible to equate all the Agus in the list given above with the known signs of the zodiac, the following should nevertheless be pointed out: An-gar-rtsans-po with the lizard's head can be compared with the snake of the Dodekaoros;

[1] [See cat. 116, pp1-8 for references, --Analyst]

Khrai-mgo with the hawk's head can be compared with the hawk of the Dodekaoros; aBu-dmar-lam-bstan with the insect's head can be compared with the beetle of the Dodekaoros; Kha-rgan, "Old Mouth," with the white beard, can be compared with the ape of the Dodekaoros; Bon-mag with the donkey's head, with the donkey of the Dodekaoros. As has already been mentioned, mDa-dpon-gon-ma, the great arrow master, belongs perhaps to the "archer" of the Babylonian zodiac. As A. Jeremias observes in his "Handbuch," the previously mentioned zodiac of the Chinese, which begins with the rat, the ox, and the tiger, is related to the Hellenistic Dodekaoros. After what has just been said, it seems to me that the zodiac symbolized by the Agus comes much closer to the Dodekaoros. Here we have, perhaps, the intermediate link between the Asiatic West and East with respect to this calendar problem.

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Favorite Numbers in the Ancient Mythology

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Three is a particularly favored number. The world is composed of three parts, the king of the heavens has three sons, King "White Tent" must perform three labors, three Shar-an-dre, according to the Lower Ladakh Version, strive to kill the child Kesar. The Agu Khrai-thun needs three hats, three stirrups, and three dog collars ("Journey to China"). According to wedding song No. XIII[1] there are three famous castles, three lakes, three forms of greeting, of smiling, and of swearing; according to No. LIX[1], there are three kinds of people, of cattle and of iron tools, and there are three kinds of fields.

The number seven appears somewhat less frequently. However, the smaller group of the Agus consists of seven heroes. According to the Sheh version there are seven An-dhe-ban-dhe who try to kill the infant Kesar. Seven /21/ types of grain seeds are found in the stomach of the dove that has been caught. Tag-ma-cig, (wedding song No. LIX.[1]) With seven bones and seven shells Dze-mo performs her magic on Cu-ru-lu-gu (in the Winter Myth, No. 3)[1].

The number nine occurs with special frequency. The monster from which gDon-gsum-mi-la constructs the world, has nine heads; the devil Cu-ru-lu-gu has nine lives; according to Winter Myth, VIII[1], Kesar is victorious in nine battles; according to Spring Myth, VI[1] 29, nine little pieces of butter are spread along the edge of the beer jug in honor of the guest. Nine gods and nine Pisaca were born together with Kesar, according to Winter Myth, VIII[1] 34. In everyday life, the number nine is also in frequent use. A full rosette is

1 [See pp 1-8, category 116, for references -- Analyst]

773 merely an obscure mythological phenomenon has been recognized
774 in it. However, the fact that the Tibetans connect the name Khyun
821 with the word for "sun" in one name, raises certain considerations. If in Tibet the sun and Khyun are combined in one name, then it is certainly possible that in India people also thought of the sun when they mentioned the name Garuda. The syllable dkrun, or, corrupted, run, gives the most trouble in the name. It may refer to the fact that no feet are visible on the bird of the sun. For sKyil-dkrun signifies sitting down with the feet drawn in. In the Lower Ladakhi Version, "Prologue," No. 9,[1] we learn something about the ancestors of the sun bird. It is supposed to be the son of the bird No-ldo-re, and the latter is supposed to be the son of the bird Khu-byug-rgyal-po. While the name On-ldo-re cannot be translated, Khu-(b)yug-
[825] rgyal-po means "king cuckoo." The cuckoo is actually a particularly favorite bird among the Tibetans, and it also plays an important part in the mythology of the Bon religions. According to passages in the dictionary of S. Ch. Das, under "Khyun," it looks as though Khyun was originally used to designate the eagle. Khyun, On-ldo-re, and Khu-(b)yug are probably the names of three birds that were worshiped and that were all three equated with the sun. The story of the provenance of the sun bird in the "Prologue" is thus probably only intended to signify that the sun of the present day is the child of the sun of yesterday, and that the latter is again the child of the day before yesterday. The case is different with the birth of the sun from aBru-gu-ma, as we find it reported in the Spring Myth, Appendices, No. 3.[1] (Similarly in A Lower Ladakhi Version, "Kesar's Birth," p. 69.) This event is best explained if we recognize, as we mentioned earlier, an earth goddess in aBru-gu-ma. When the sun rises in the morning, it is, after all, possible to say that it was born
• [776] from the earth. A curious sun and moon myth is the story of the Agu Za in Spring Myth, II, 34-45.[1] Za means "eater," and this particular Agu devours not only Don-grub, the future King Kesar, but he also only surrenders Kesar again after he has been promised that the sun and the moon will be given him to eat for a year. Such devourers of the sun and the moon are not only the spirits of the eclipses of the sun and /23/ the moon, but also the mountain and cloud spirits. It is precisely the large mountains rising steeply from the river valleys that frequently prevent the appearance of the sun for several months during the winter. From the personifications of the mountains have arisen the spirits of the mountains or the giants.

The moon is also frequently conceived of as a bird. It is called Bya-mo-dkar-mo, the "white lady bird" (see Lower Ladakhi Version,

[1] [See cat. 116, pp1-8 for references.--ANALYST]

773 All these peculiar names of the sun and the moon are to be found
774 in the reports about Kesar's birth. At Kesar's birth there is a general
821 giving of birth to various creatures. The old sun gives birth to a young sun, the old moon to a young moon, and all breeding animals, horses, oxen, goats, sheep, dogs, cats, and so forth, give birth to young. Among the creatures not belonging to the animal kingdom which reproduce themselves at this point we find the rainbow, rGya-stag-khra-bo, the "great, colored rope," and the cloud, sGe-mo-dkar-moi-ston-shon, the "white sack, container of a thousand." Just as the sickle of the moon is considered the original ancestor of all sickles, axes, and hatchets, so the rainbow is regarded as the original ancestor of all strings and ropes, and the cloud is looked upon as the original ancestor of all sacks. The trinity of moon sickle, rainbow rope, and cloud sack, incidentally, also plays a significant role in the Ron-no-rub-can, the Tibetan Vetala.

Scattered here and there we also find still other personifications of the phenomena of nature. In wedding song No. IIIb[4] the wind, sKye-ser-rlun-po, is called "wind, rouser of coolness." To it is attributed /24/ the feat of having hollowed out the valleys. This is, of course, quite reminiscent of the modern theories of wind erosion held by our geographers. In the same song the rain, under the name sBan-char-zil-bu, "moist rain, dew," is also mentioned. To it is attributed the creation of the concepts "above" and "below." This perhaps because of the fact that rain originates above and dew down below.

As we have already seen above, the personification of the glacier is Sne-ge-dkar-mo-gYu-ral-can, "the white lioness with the turquoise-colored mane." In the song just cited she appears as the mother of the glacier. She is of great importance because on her depends the supply of water for the land. This lioness, the riding animal of the mother of the gods, is frequently mentioned, together with types of animals considered as firm representatives of the animal kingdom. However, this is, after all, also the case with the sun bird Khyun. (See Tag-ma-cig, wedding songs Nos. I[4] and II.[4]) Such representatives of the animal kingdom are: Bya-rgyal-rgod-po, "the wild king of the birds"; the eagle; sKyin-chen-ba-rgan, the "big ibex, the old ox"; Nya-mo-gser-mig, the "female fish gold eye"; it is also called Nya-mo-khyu-ru; rKyan-byun-kha-dkar, "the white mouth born from kiang," a horse; aBron-
773 byun-rog-po, "the black one born from the wild yak," a yak.
● 776 gNyan are said to be spirits who carry on their nefarious activi-
753 ties in various places. According to S. Ch. Das's Wörterbuch
1 [See Category 116, ##1-8, for references--Analyst]

/Dictionary/ they are supposed to be bringers of the plague in particular. In wedding song No. XX[1] four types of gNyan are enumerated:

> At the blue zenith the gNyan of sun and moon,
> Near the high cliff the gNyan of the wind,
> In the wide ocean the gNyan of the babbling, rushing billows (?),
> In the flowing water the gNyan with loud voices.

This little verse again shows the world divided into the three parts of heaven, earth, and water, and it indicates that the Tibetans imagined the entire world to be populated by small, evil-doing spirits.

In connection with what was said before, we ask ourselves how matters stood among the Tibetans with respect to ancestor worship. If, at the present day, we do not find much of this kind of worship, this is to be explained from the introduction of Buddhism. It should be remembered that the belief in the transmigration of souls, which came into the country together with Buddhism, placed the ancestors in successive rebirths. In the songs of the Dard the Mum-mo, really "uncle," "eme," the forefather, plays an important role. Among the Tibetans, however, I have not encountered a similar figure as yet.

On the other hand, it is possible that some forceful exclamations, popular oaths, that are used by the West Tibetans, point to something like ancestor worship. The exclamation of this kind which is heard most frequently is: A-bii-sha, "by the flesh of my grandmother." In the Bonpo book gZer-mig we very frequently find the word phe-sha as an expression of forceful affirmation. This was probably in its original form pha.-sha, meaning "by the flesh of my father." (This is all that up till now it has been possible to find in this field. A single case of a prayer addressed to one's deceased father, and of a father entombed in a stupa are to be found in the saga of rGyal-sa-dkar-po /Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 322./ /The preceding brackets are the author's. --Translator./ The son of mDapon-gon-ma had been wounded and vanquished. He prayed for his dead father, and the latter showed him an arrow by means of which he would again be able to regain the victory.)

Cult Places of the Ancient Tibetan Religion

I have succeeded in discovering a number of the cult places of

[1] [See cat. 116, pp 1-8 for references. -- Analyst]

778 this ancient religion in the neighborhood of Khalatse. I have discussed these discoveries in Z. D. M. G., Vol. LXI, p. 583, and following. We are dealing, in this case, mostly /25/ with curious rock formations which are reminiscent of the deities of the ancient religion. Such places are the following: 1. Khyun-ran-byon, "the Khyun who appeared by himself (Garuda, sun bird)." A stone at the place so named shows the approximate likeness of a Khyun, and it is still spread with butter as a sign of worship. 2. Ke-sar-gyi-sga, "Kesar's saddle." A stone here has the shape of a Tibetan wooden saddle. 3. aBru-gui-dabs-khor, "tambourine belonging to aBru-gu-ma." Here we find a rock in the shape of a circular dish. Shallow caves with charcoal drawings are in the vicinity. 4. aBru-gui-phan-lo, "spindle of aBru-gu-ma." In the place bearing this name we observe shallow hollows in a large rock. The rock inside these hollows has many natural yellow spots in the shape of a Tibetan spindle. All kinds of charcoal drawings, of which some are also representations of the spindle, are to be found in the vicinity as well. 5. Ke-sar-gyi-khan-pa, "Kesar's house," is a large piece of rock which has a large round white spot on its western side. This is called the door to the house.

Quite similar cult places are to be found in the district of Nub-
[792] ra, to the North of Ladakh. But whereas we were able to discover scarcely any traces of earlier idol worship at the cult places, those of Nub-ra are still tended today and served by red lamas. Missionary Redslob was shown two such curious rock formations. Near A-ra-nu (Su-mur) a fairly dark picture of a crowned lion could be seen on the wall of a rock of a brighter color. Redslob believed he recognized a lion also on a rock near Der-ze above Panimig. The natives may recognize in these lion-like representations pictures of the glacier
776 lion. The people of Nub-ra call old spirits who, in their opinion,
778 are supposed to have their domain by these strange rocks, mGon-po, rulers. They enumerate eight principal rulers of this kind for their
[113] region Nub-ra, and I have reproduced the list of these rulers in my book Durch Zentralasien in die indische Gefangenschaft /Through Central Asia into Indian Imprisonment/, p. 125. In this list we again find a name that reminds us of the "sun bird" of Khalatse. The mGon-po of mGo-sbed is called Bya-rog-gdon-can, "wild bird
[532] with a face." In later representations of the Khyun (Garuda) this bird has been given a human face. (See Tables XIII and XCL in my Antiquities of Indian Tibet.) Also, the "ears" of the bird are
[825] very clearly visible in these pictures. The Khyun is regarded as an enemy of the Nagas (klu) which often assume the shape of water SNAKES.

776 snakes. On the pictures I have said that the Khyun is represented
778 in the act of devouring two of the Nagas. It is remarkable that among the eight mGon-po of Nub-ra there is also one that bears the name Nagaraksha, "water-snake demon" in the Indic language. His rock is in Ron-mdo. Apparently there is a rock formation in mGo-sbed which is reminiscent of a Khyun, and in Ron-mdo there is one that looks like a water snake (klu).

782 It is undoubtedly a fact that at one time offerings were made at these ancient cult places.[1] Certainly they also performed dances there and said prayers.

Concerning the offerings we learn a few isolated facts from the wedding songs.

[824] The first of the wedding songs of Khalatse deals with a smoke offering. According to this song the wood of the Shug-pa tree (Juniperus excelsa), a type of juniper, which smells very good when it is burned, is brought as an offering. This offering is called bsan-shug, "juniper food," in the song, apparently because it is to serve as nourishment for the gods. The main purpose of this offering is to maintain peace with the gods. The first verse runs:

This blue smoke rising,
What does it mean?
This blue smoke rising
/26/ Means that there will be no conflict with brGya-byin, lord of the gods
For that do we offer the nourishing juniper tree!

[776] In this way the smoke is presented as an offering to the deities of heaven, of earth, of the water world, of the four points of the compass, of the castle, the village, and the house. Everywhere the smoke is believed to have an appeasing effect. In Number 2 [824] of the drinking songs of Khalatse[2] two other plants are also named as materials for incense, aside from the shug-pa, the "wood of the gods." These are su-lu-gser-po and kham-pa-dkar-po. Neither is known to me.

782 A very peculiar kind of sacrificial gift is named in the Tag-ma
826 cig; wedding song No. XXXIII:[2] To the gods are to be sacrificed the white teeth and the fingernails; to the solid earth, the red flesh and the red blood; to the dark powers (mun) the gall and blue water; to the black devil, though, the black hairs and the eyebrows are to be offered. All these are parts of the body which among primitive peoples are regarded as the seat of mysterious powers, and their acquisition is looked upon as particularly desirable. Is there perhaps an idea of presenting the best to the divinities?

In this connection it should, by the way, be observed directly

† [See pp37-8, cat. 116, -- Analyst] ‡ [See pp1-8, cat. 116 --ANALYST]

585 X
539 X

4. When we came here from the northern country,
Vaisravana was king there in the North.
For the sake of their religion we may call his subjects and his servants white.
Their looks and their customs are good.
In the North there are all kinds of dyes,
If you wish to hear the news, ask them.
We, their friends, will now be silent!

The people:

Om, May things go well with you, and may you be accompanied by happiness and blessings!

Notes to IXa and b [1]

585 X
539 X
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Already appeared in the Indian Antiquary, 1901, as No. IX /actually No. IV. --Translator/ There the name of the king in the North was erroneously given as Virupaksha. The Tibetan text gives the names of these Lokapalas (guardians of the world), in their Tibetan form, as follows: 1. East, Yul-akhor-srun; 2. South, aPhags-skyed; 3. West, sPyan-mi /g/-bzan; 4. North, rNam-thos-sras. In its original form this song probably named birds instead of the great kings. The color white here symbolizes goodness, purity. Concerning the gifts of the various points of the compass, see the Introduction.

585 X
539 X

Xa. The people of the house say:

1. Rain comes down damp from above,
Is satisfied with its own falling,
Is busy with itself and silent.
You alone do we ask.

2. The meadow of turquoises deep
Sucks purity out of the soil,
Is busy with itself and silent.
You alone do we ask.

3. The umbrella of the throne, coming from the East,
Takes pains to cause the darkness to withdraw,

[1] [See pp. 62-4, Cat. 116, --Analyst]

Hear your praises, gods above, 585*
You who are radiant like meadow flowers! 539*

The people:

Quite so!

Notes to XVIa1

The relatives of the bride in this song for the first time recognize the bride purchasers as the messengers of the gods, as the first lines indicate. This song seeks to do justice to all religious factions, and for this reason it praises, aside from the gods of the lHachos, also Buddha (line 8) and the deities of the Bon religion (the lines from the manuscript of Khalatse, after line 10). The heroes of prehistory play an important part, and among them there are to be found a number of historical personages, such as, for instance, King Khri-sron-Ide-btsan of the eighth century A.D. (verse 24), Padmasombhava, his contemporary (verse 10), Queen Kon-jo of the seventh century. Among the rest the following are also familiar figures: Heruka, as a Tantra divinity (verse 12), who, incidentally, is here brought into connection with the old, old lHachos; King Kesar (verse /I am assuming that the "V." in the text stands for "verse" or "line"; however, the references seem unclear. --Translator/ 20) the hero of the saga world, and his son gSerral (lines from the manuscript of Khalatse, following verse 34). Shel-lha-od-dkar is probably the same as gShen-lha-od-dkar who, after gZer-mig, is a chief divinity of the Bon religion /56/ (lines from the manuscript of Khalatse, following verse 10). The name of the yak tamer rGyal-rmog-grog-po should be compared with the name of the yak tamer in song XIIb, line 1. Perhaps both refer to one and the same personage. dBu-thod-grogs-po, who occurs in the lines from the manuscript of Khalatse, following verse 15, should be compared with dBu-thod-rog-se in song XVIb, verse 10. The word Thsa-gran in verse 18 is the name of the hot and cold caves. It is peculiar that this word has been moved into close proximity to the physicians. It is as yet impossible to ascertain the reference of the remaining names. 776 585* 539* 585* 539*

XVIb. The bride purchasers say:

1. To you high in the heavens resounds the song of praise!

1 [See pp. 95-97 -- Analyst]

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¥539

2. From the gem of moon and sun,
3. From the glittering stone of the stars in the house of the moon,
4. From the towers of ice of Kailasa,
5. From the depths of Lake Ma-phan it resounds.
6. Out of the wide, gay, red earth!
7. Out of the long, blue rivers it resounds.
8. You high gods of heaven, listen to the song of praise,
9. You little gods who are led by the god Indra!
10. dBu-thod-rog-se, hear it!
11. Peoples of all the middle realms, hear it!
12. You who are ruled by the mother of the earth, sKyabs-mdun!
13. Hear it, rTa-mgo-rog-se!
14. Nymphs, you who are ruled by prince dGa-bo-ljogs-po,
15. Nymphs, deep down in the ground, listen to the song of praise!
16. Hear it, sBrul-mgo-rog-se!
17. You nine fathers to the right, Oh listen to the song of praise!
18. You who are sitting like gYag-po-che-sdeu, listen to it!
19. You nine mothers, like peacocks,
20. Waddling in the forest, listen to the song of praise!
21. God of the market on the market place! You people, listen to it!
22. You who look like large flowers in the meadow!
23. You children there on the side, looking like
24. Children of the gods descended from heaven, listen to the songs of praise!
25. Full of blessing is
26. Your happy land.

The people:
Quite so!

/57/

Notes to XVIb$^{1}_{A}$

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This song of praise sung by the purchasers of the bride contains fewer names than the previous one, and those names that it does contain can be more easily explained than the others. Verses from

$^{1}_{A}$ [See pp. 97-98--Analyst]

8 to 10 make reference to the realm of the gods in heaven. The king of heaven is first of all named dBan-po-brgya-byin, Satakratu, Indra. The name dBupthod-rog-se may possibly likewise refer to a heavenly deity. Verses 11 to 13 make reference to the realm of the earth. The name of the queen of the earth is sKyabs-mdun, as she is also known elsewhere. But rTa-mgo-rog-se, "with the head of a horse," also seems to be the name of a deity of the earth. Verses 14 to 16 refer to the realm of the waters. The name of the king of the nymphs is here given as dGa-bo-ljogs-po (ordinarily it is simply ljogs-po). sBrul-mgo-rog-se, "with the head of a snake," likewise appears to be a divinity of the waters. As for the being seated like gYag-po-che-sdeu, I am as yet unable to give any explanation.

776 585' 539x

585 539'

XVIIa. The people of the house say:

1. Uncovered, wild head,
   Wild hair stands up toward heaven!
   Wild, naked body! It walks
   Always dreadful the eternal way!
   Wild foot walks without shoe. --
   Its track carves pictures.

2. High above the ice god closed the three valleys.
   Not a single little flake swirls up to heaven.

3. Water closes three valleys deep.
   Little speck of iron dust flies not up.

4. Apes you are! Not human beings!
   Your horses are the devil's animals!
   Away with ape and devil's horse!

The people:

Quite so!

XVIIb. The people outside say:

1. -- -- -- -- -- -- -- --
   -- -- -- -- (missing).

2. When you say the ice god closed

585X
539X

Up on high the valleys three,
So that ne'er a little flake flew
Up to high heaven;
/58/ Two days ago
A yak was killed there --
Up above, something flew up --
Eighty planes -- white --
Ninety grounds -- white --
The vulture laughs like a man.
Little birds without number whirl about.
Did you not see it?

3. When you say: three lower valleys were closed
By water deep, so that not a single little particle
of iron flew.
Yesterday iron child
Combed the ox.
Did you see it? Mountain and cliff
Became like valleys!

4. When I look at our men, they look like King
Kesar;
When I look at our horses, they look like his
riding steed.
Where, then, have you ever heard that the crew
of matchmakers
With the iron-hoofed steeds could look like
simian horsemen?
Observe! We do not come as enemies,
No, ever as dear friends we come.

The people:

Quite so.

Notes to XVIIa and b 1

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585X
539X

This is a song which evidently has not been preserved in its complete form, or, in any case, it is impossible to interpret it clearly in all its parts. As verse 4 indicates, doubt again arises concerning the divine origin of the bride purchasers. From verses 2

1 [See cat 116, pp. 79-80 for songs. --Analyst]

and 3 it seems to appear that the children of the gods are expected to come down from Olympus in a storm. The people of the house have not noticed any storm, and therefore the matchmakers' assertion that they are of high descent is repudiated as untrue. In XVIIb, the bride purchasers, thereupon, point to great snow and hailstorms which are supposed to have raged recently in the mountains. The storms are explained by the killing and combing of yak oxen. Just as in the Kesar saga, here, too, the clouds are compared with yak oxen.

XVIIIa. The people of the house say:

1. Who was the lord of eighty white planes?
2. Who was the lord of the ninety white gorges?
3. Who was lord of the vulture that laughs like a man?
4. Who was the lord of the numberless little birds?

/59/ XVIIIb. The bride purchasers say:

1. Garuda is the lord of eighty planes.
2. The bird king is lord of ninety gorges.
3. Thin of the vulture that laughs like a man.
4. And the lark is lord of all the little birds.

Seven little men, seven little women may not come together, Khyi-li-li!
Three very bad words should not be spoken by anyone, Tho-ro-ro!
Three well-known steps should not be taken by anyone, Sha-ra-ra!
What is being done, do you think?
And what may you need?

The people:

Quite so.

Notes to XVIIIa and b

Of the birds that are here designated as rulers over gorges and over other birds, Thin is as yet unknown. But from the position of

585x
539x

7. That blue smoke
Blowing toward the North
Is an offering to Amoghasiddha
So that he will not be angry with us.

8. That blue smoke
Over the castle there
Is an offering to the god of the mountain peak
So that he will not be angry with us.

/63/ 9. That blue smoke
Above your village
Is an offering to the god of the village
So that he will not be angry with us.

10. That blue smoke
Blowing through the courtyard
Is an offering to the god of the house
So that he will not be angry with us.

The People:

Quite so. May all go well with you!

Notes to Supplement, Kh. Ia and b [1]

This is one of those songs that show the old arrangement of the prayer. The deities of the three worlds are followed by the divinities of the four points of the compass, and that in the order of the course of the sun--, East, South, West, North. With respect to this arrangement, the ancient lHa-chos corresponds with Buddhism, whilst the Bon religion, as the gZer-mig indicates, for instance, always has the reverse order, that is, North, West, South, East. In accordance with this, lHa-chos and Buddhism also share the same swastika turned to the right, whereas that of the Bon religion is turned toward the left. The Tibetan manuscript gives the names of the Lokapalas in their Tibetan form, as follows: rDo-rje-sems-dpa, Rinchen-byun-ldan, sNan-ba-mtha-yas, Don-yod-grub-pa. The deities that follow after this are called: rTse-lha, Yul-thsa, Pha-lha.

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This song is included in the manuscript of Khalatse at the

1 [See pp. 83-85, Category 116 -- Analysis]

776 place of Tag-ma-cig, song number I, and it has already been published in the Indian Antiquary, 1901. [See source #10. pp. 134-5
539x in cat. 116 -- ANALYZE T]
585

Kh. IIa. The people of the house say:

539x
585x

1. Look over there to the upper valley!
What white glacier water,
What and whose beer is it?

2. Look over there to the right!
That foaming water among the stones,
What and whose beer is it?

3. Look over there down below!
That blue river water,
What and whose beer is it?

/64/ 4. Look over there to the left!
Those wells here and there,
What and whose beer are they?

5. And in this large jar with the snake's head,
The beer /made/ of white barley,
What and whose beer is this?

The people:

Om, May things go well with you.

Kh. IIb. The bride purchasers, the seven brothers, answer:

1. Look over there to the upper valley!
That white glacier water
Is the beer nourishing the ice lion.

2. Look over there to the right!
That foaming water among the stones
Is the beer nourishing the young deer.

3. Look over there down below!
That blue river water
Is the beer nourishing the little fishes.

Notes to Kh. XIXa and b[1]

This song has not been preserved in its entirety either. The missing verses a, 1 to 4, it was easily possible to supply from b, 1 to 4. The missing conclusion b, 10 to 13, has been completed by me in the spirit of the preceding verses. The bride purchasers believe they make their divine origin most effectively clear by asserting that everything that goes on in nature and inside the house is connected with them or was caused by them. sKra-lo, in verse 6, is evidently a tutelary deity. The name might possibly signify "the one with the curly hair." The Shog-yan plateau in verse 10 is not yet known to me. But the North country in verse 11 is the well-known Byan-than plain. It is clear that the conclusion of this song in Khalatse is not nearly as satisfying as the conclusion of the song quoted above, No. XIX in Tag-ma-cig.

539x 585x [776]

Concluding Observations

It is my intention to follow up this part of the wedding songs with a second and a third part in a special publication. If this plan should be somewhat delayed, it will be due to the difficulty in translating. For the first part, two manuscripts were available. The second part can only be translated on the basis of one single manuscript, and this circumstance results in a great deal of uncertainty in view of the archaic nature of the language. The Tibetan text of all three parts, together with a literal translation printed alongside it, is to be published in the very near future in a scholarly periodical.

000

/70/ Rock Drawings

Table I[2]

Number 1, 2 and 3. The "white lioness with the turquoise-colored mane." A personification of the glacier. (Compare photograph.) 531 821

Number 4. Kesar's horse (rKyan-byun-dbyer-pa). 773

" 5. Kesar on his horse engaged in hunting the antelope. On both sides are stupas, and over them branches of the sacred juniper tree. Unknown emblem (a square with diagonals). (Compare photograph.) 778 531

1 [See pp. 90-92 category 116 --Analyst]
2 [See p. 97, category 116 -- Analyst]

/(6)/ No. 7.[1] Deserted village dGon=pa near Leh 532 782 778

Rough ancient sculpture of a Bodhisatva /sic!/ which was erected in a place of worship of the pre-Buddhist religion. For that reason the horns of the ibex and juniper twigs are still, to this day, brought to it as offerings. Also, its mouth is spread with butter.

/(7)/ No. 8. Rock drawing from the bridge castle near Khalatse. 532 778 773

Kesar as an archer on horseback hunts an antelope. On both sides are Buddhist stupas. Above them a branch of the sacred juniper tree (Shug-pa).

No. 9. Rock drawing of the white lioness with the turquoise mane (glacier). A rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse.

/(8)/ No. 10. Rock drawing from the Indus near Khalatse. 532 776

The wishing cow (Tibetan, aDod-ajoi-ba). In the heaven of the gods she grants all wishes.

/(9)/ No. 11. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig. 532 782 842

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The many boulders, likewise of very recent times, represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(10)/ No. 12. Rocks near the village that is now Mohammedan, Don-ga in Purig.

The drawings in part still date back to the Buddhist period of the village. The boulders represent prayers of thanks addressed to Kesar for the blessing of offspring.

/(11)/ No. 13. A sacred place on the Ro-thang mountain pass (Lahul). 778 133

The source of the Bias River. A great many pointed rocks placed upright.

[1] See pp. 103-117, category 116 -- Analyst

755 /(12)/ No. 14.[1] Large dos-mo from the dos-mo festival in Leh.
796
778 The evil spirits of winter and of diseases are caught in the structures that resemble spiderwebs. After the exorcism, the frames are destroyed.

532 /(13)/ No. 15. An old mural painting from Chans-pa (Byams-pa)
776 near Leh.

Stars from the Kesar saga. The king's castle of Glin. Above it, in the clouds, are deities.

/(14)/ No. 16. An old mural painting from Chans-pa (Byams-pa) near Leh.

On the right: A scene from the Kesar saga. King Kesar with the eighteen Agus. Three women from the right. In the clouds are the father of the gods and the mother of the gods, and their children (?). On the left: A scene from the Dogra war.

/(15)/ No. 17. Ancient restored mask from Kunawar.

Evidently it also represented an Agu (hero).

No. 18. Mask of an Agu (hero) from Leh.

(The helmet has little flags stuck in it.)

[1] [See pp. 114-117, category 116 -- Analyst]

532
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Nr. 10. Caption for above picture on p. 101.

[82]

15: Francke --117 M-3 (no date) 1923 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

532
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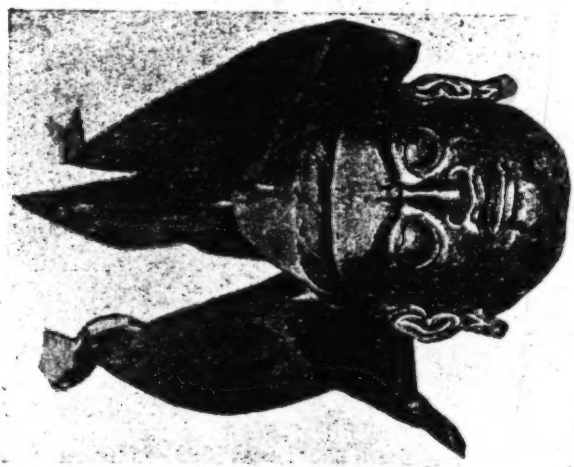
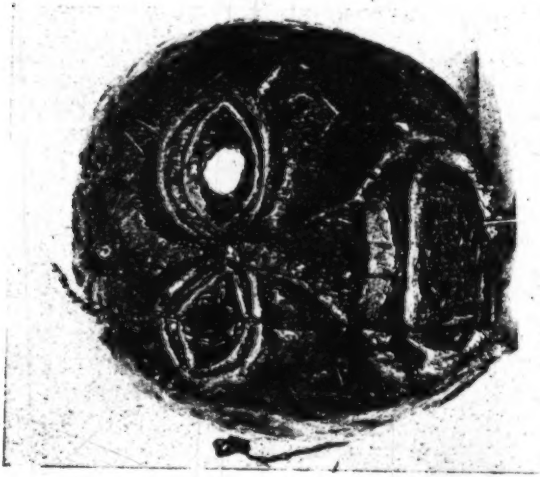


Nr. 18. Mask of [illegible] (head) from Leh.
(The [illegible] Buddhist flag
stuck in it.)



Nr. 17. [illegible]

16: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4 Lahul

796 In the fourth month ploughing operations begin, preceded by the ceremony of blessing
782 the ploughshare and the yoke of oxen. *Mar-zan*, *kal-chor*, and *la-zhen* (roasted buck-wheat) and *sang-shū* are sacrificed to the local god, whilst a *mar-zan* and *la-zhen* thumb imprint is made on the ploughshare, the middle of the yoke, and on the foreheads of the yoke of oxen.

796 The *Mo-ṣi Tsai-shū* is celebrated in the fifth month, when the priests hold a service in the
793 village temple, and then adjourn to engage with their lay brethren in drinking and dancing. In this month also the priests, preceded by women carrying volumes of the Buddhist scriptures, bless the fields (*Bum-khor*).

796 At the *Chog'-si-kris* festival, the villagers employ a *Hla-pa* (one in whom a god is supposed
787 to have entered) to disembowel a sheep and scatter the entrails before a sacred tree which is thought to be the residence of a fierce deity whose insatiable appetite demands the sacrifice of
● [776] blood.

Following closely on this function, comes the *Tsai-shū*, when the priests, elaborately adorned,
[793] perform a devil dance. Large quantities of beer have to be provided by the people to regale the performing lamas (priests).

During the eighth month when the *Kar-so-rig'* festival is held, a certain individual cultivating what is known as the fields belonging to the village god, has to sacrifice a sheep, and supply the village with 120 lb. of beer by way of tax for his property. Again at this time a function called *Sang-rag'* is held, at which two he-goats must be sacrificed to a she-demon (*Nies-pa-rang*). Immediately after this ceremony, those who possess ponies ride to a neighbouring village, where they engage in horse racing. A sheep having been sacrificed to the local god, and the remainder consumed in a half-raw condition, the shoulder blade is reserved as a target stuck in the ground. The horsemen then gallop over the course, and, as they pass the target, they throw stones at it endeavouring to shatter the bone of the sheep.

796 Before dismantling the corn ricks preparatory to threshing operations which take place
533 during the ninth month, one *drang-ryyas*, one *kal-chor*, and a *sang-shū* are offered in sacrifice to
787 the gods. Then the threshing begins, and as the oxen revolve round the centre pole in the threshing floor, the following songs eulogizing the cattle (in very much the same way as a farmer in the West will encourage his beasts of burden while performing some agricultural task) are sung :—

G.

Refrain : "*Hollo, hollo, hollo, hollo.*"
The cow goes round the threshing floor pole,
The bull goes round on the outer circle.
Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

The *dzo's* horn is like a conch shell,
The *dzo-mo's* tail is like a salutation scarf.
Refrain : "*Hiri-do, hiri-do.*"

19: Asboe M-3 (no date)1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

country, the fields are arranged in terraces, and irrigated by watercourses cut in fan-like formation from a river, mountain torrent, or from glaciers and large accumulations of snow. 241 312

Size of a Farmstead.

The extent of a man's fields is popularly computed in terms of a yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor), or in a dry measure called a 'Kal' (40 lb.) of seed. Thus if one asks a peasant how large is his arable land, he will reply that he possesses land sufficient to plough with one or two yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor) as the case may be, or he may say that his land requires 2 'Kals' (80 lb.) of seed to sow it. It takes one yoke of oxen to plough a field requiring 1 kal of seed to sow it. Computed in terms of Indian survey measurement, this extent of land would be two 'bigars.' 423 241 804

The average amount of land possessed by a single farmer is that which can be ploughed by one yoke of oxen in four days, therefore requiring 4 kals (160 lb.) of seed. The average yield in a good year for each kal of seed sown is tenfold. 423 241

Lha-zhing (Field belonging to a God).

Dispersed throughout the country are fields which from ancient times belong to a local god (Lha-zhing). These are cultivated by the peasants who, at the Buddhist new year (February), and again in May when ploughing begins, have to regale the bearer of the wood image of that god with beer and one measure of barley. The cultivator of these fields may, however, reserve the harvest for his own use. [776]

Alternation of Crops.

Barley is sown two years successively, and the land is manured on the previous autumn or spring. On the third year a crop of wheat is grown, the land being similarly treated with manure. On the fourth year buckwheat is sown, but this does not require manure. Then on the fifth year barley is again sown, and so on. 241

Barley, wheat and buckwheat have been grown for an indefinitely long time, and are indigenous crops, but during the past fifty years rye has been cultivated with marked success. This was introduced by the Moravian mission operating in this country, as also were potatoes, vegetables and fruit trees. [777]

Sometimes an insect destroys the barley soon after it is sown, in which case the people water the unproductive field and then sow more seed by loosening the soil with a small implement like a hoe with a short handle (surmo).